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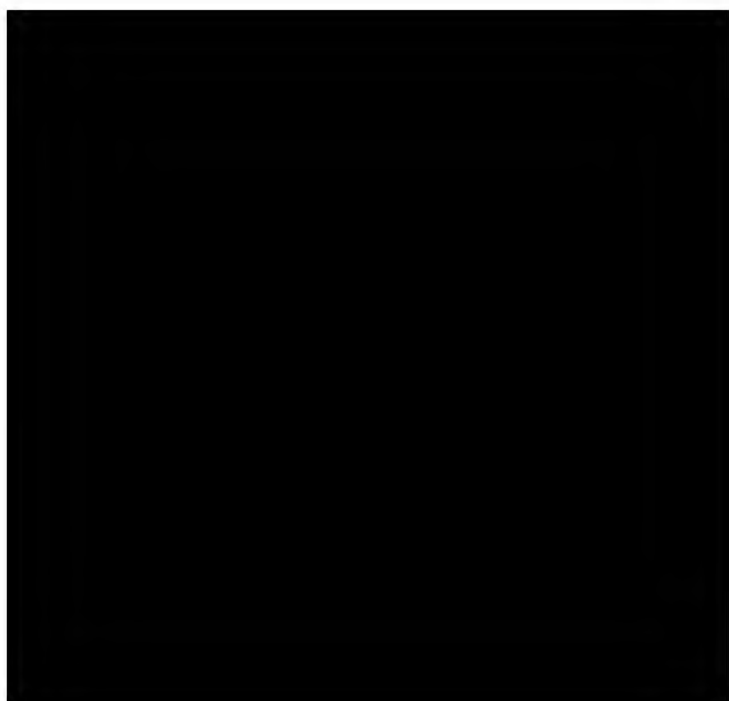


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JOURNAL
OF
A THREE YEARS' RESIDENCE
IN
ABYSSINIA.

ACCOMPANIED BY A MAP.



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OF
A THREE YEARS' RESIDENCE
IN
ABYSSINIA,
IN FURTHERANCE OF THE OBJECTS OF THE
Church Missionary Society.

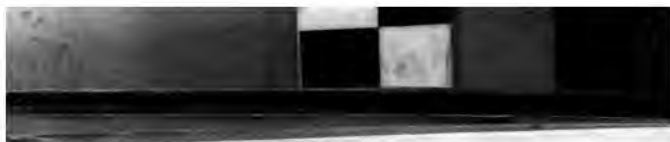
BY
THE REV. SAMUEL GOBAT,
ONE OF THE SOCIETY'S MISSIONARIES.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ABYSSINIA,
BY THE REV. PROFESSOR LEE, D.D.

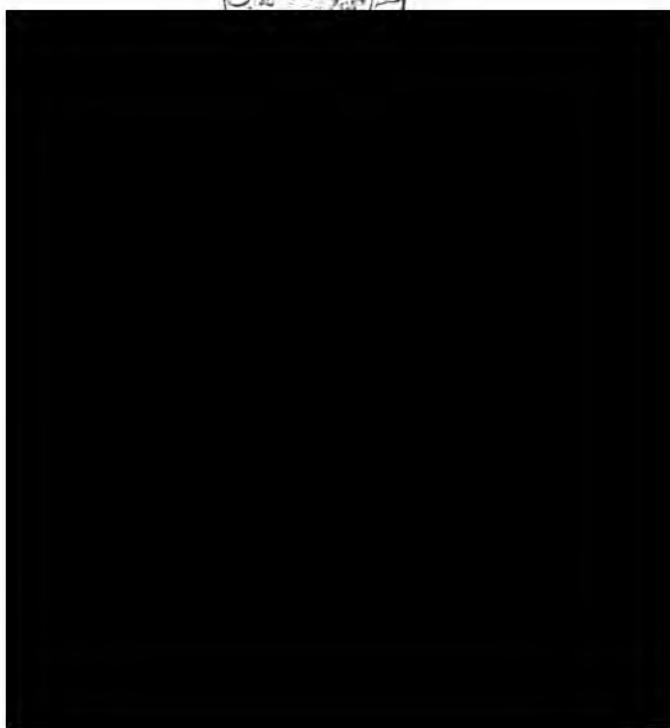
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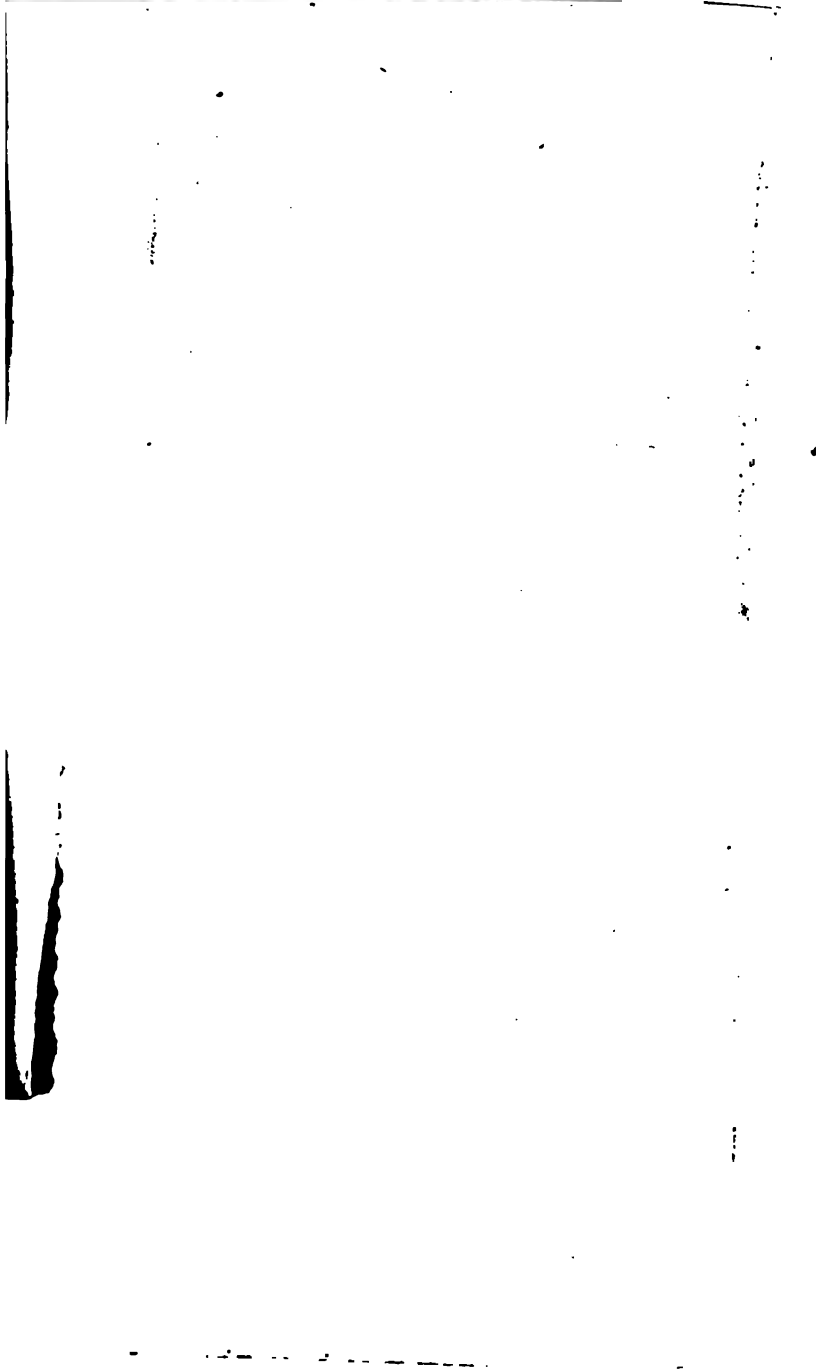
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R. WATTS.

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PREFACE.

THE attention of the Church Missionary Society has for many years been directed toward that interesting country, which forms the subject of the present volume. In the plans which were formed, now twenty years ago, for the Mediterranean Mission, it was considered that the evangelizing of the nations adjacent to that inland sea was a work intimately connected with the revival and reformation of the Oriental Churches; and among these, the Christian Church of Abyssinia presents a very conspicuous and essential object.

About the time of the arrival of the Society's first Missionary in Malta, in the year 1815, a still deeper interest was excited respecting that country; from its being known that a Native had been for some years engaged, at Caïro, in translating the Scriptures into Amharic, the principal vernacular Abyssinian Language.

This Amharic Version of the entire Bible was purchased at Caïro, by the Rev. W. Jowett, on account of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in 1820. Many particulars respecting the work,

the native translator, and the state of opinions and public affairs in Abyssinia, may be read in Jowett's "Christian Researches in the Mediterranean," pp. 171—229.

From this period, the prospects of the Church Missionary Society began to brighten more distinctly, and measures were taken for appointing a Mission expressly to that country. The Rev. Samuel Gobat and the Rev. Christian Kugler, who had received their Missionary education, first at Basle, and subsequently at the Society's Institution at Islington, were sent into Egypt in 1826, with the view of seeking the most convenient way of entering Abyssinia. As there did not appear to be immediate facilities for this, they employed some time in making themselves acquainted with Abyssinians, and with their language, so far as they were able to do so at Cairo: and for a similar purpose they visited Jerusalem, where it was known that a small company of Abyssinians were living in a monastery near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The Bible Society, deeply sensible of the importance of prosecuting the work so providentially placed within their reach, not only printed the whole of the New Testament in both Ethiopic and Amharic, but have also nearly closed the printing of the Amharic Pentateuch. The whole has been conducted under the able critical superintendence of T. P. Platt, Esq. Copies of the Book of Genesis also, in Amharic, were sent to



we wished to have our luggage brought on shore that evening, or on the following day. As we wished to have it with us, he instantly sent a soldier to get the boxes on shore; while Ali procured a lodging for us with a friend of his. Thus it was that we were permitted to pass New-Year's Day in tolerable rest at Massowah. Ali's behaviour toward us, on the whole of our journey, was much to our satisfaction: he has settled with the Naïb in Arkeko (more commonly, Dochono) every thing; so that we can now proceed without obstacle to Abyssinia. In our first interview with the Naïb, Ali gave him a specific account of all that we had done for him; and added, that he ought not to look on us as on other Franks, but consider us as Brethren. The Naïb observed, that Mr. Salt had come hither, sent out by the King of England, in order to visit Ras Walda Selasse, and yet had given to the Naïb at that time one thousand dollars as a present. On this, Ali began to reprehend him; telling him earnestly, that there could be no question about presents in this case, &c.: after which he became quiet. We are now expecting to depart in three or four days to Dochono, where we shall spend one or two days; and from thence, if God will, pass the Taranta. Already, in our ship from Jidda hither, more Abyssinian had been spoken than Arabic, as our crew were chiefly inhabitants of this place, of which the language is a mixture of Arabic and Tigré: most of the respectable people here speak the



the dwelling-place of Guebra Mariam, on the 30th of July. Guebra Mariam gave a grand dinner: he and Dejes Gongul, son of Sebagadis, sat on a sofa, and Girgis and I were directed to sit on the next sofa. While sitting there, Girgis observed to me: 'I altogether dislike to appear great in this world, and even fled from it: now you see the people again make much of me. I fear it does harm to my soul: my heart reproves me exceedingly at this moment.' I replied to him: 'It is true, we are more easily overcome by pride, when sitting on a higher place than others; but pride can take hold of us even in a low place.' He assented to this."

And subsequently:—"The next Priest in rank to Guebra Mariam in Tigré is Guebra Messih, who held the opinion of three births of Christ. Sebagadis called them together, to settle the question. These two Head-Priests, Guebra Mariam and Guebra Messih, and our Girgis, had a private conference on the 25th of September, under trees near Adigrate. The conversation lasted several hours, but they spoke with great calmness and consideration. Guebra Mariam and Girgis laid their credentials before Guebra Messih; which being accepted by the latter, settled the question. Guebra Messih afterward declared privately to Girgis, that he had accepted those credentials entirely from his testimony, Girgis being the only individual of this party who returned from Egypt.



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observe that the people love our books so much, and are without the least prejudice."

In the anticipation of that distressing civil war, which took place between the provinces of Amhara and Tigré, Mr. Kugler thus writes:—

"The love of conquest has induced the independent Governor in Amhara to declare war against Sebagadis, in a very arrogant manner. Sebagadis received the news on the 27th of September; when he and his friends fired guns and pistols till late at night, abusing his enemy in words, as he had been abused by him. Sebagadis is now quietly preparing for resistance and defence.

"I have obtained some information important for us, which will console your minds at receiving this news of war; as it calmed ours, when the report of war reached us. There are five places in Tigré which are never molested by the troubles and horrors of Abyssinian War, on account of the Churches established in them. Axum, Waldeba, Gundigundi, Debra Damot, Debra Abai, are these places of retreat in time of war: property and persons are entirely secure in these asylums. Axum is about fifteen miles distant from Adowah; and the way thither is not bad. Debra Damot is an invincible natural fortress: I am informed that nobody can get to the top of this mountain, except by being drawn up with ropes. I intend visiting this famous place as soon as I find time; and shall then, please God, describe it in detail."

It was considered desirable that the Missionaries should fix their residence at Adowah, and they obtained the permission of Sebagadis to do so. It was his wish to render himself useful, and likewise to gain a favourable introduction, through the medium of Education. His method of requesting a sanction for this plan, is thus stated in a joint-letter from the two Missionaries:—

“ Mr. Kugler asked leave to have a private conversation with Sebagadis, which was granted. Mr. Kugler informed Sebagadis, that he wished to know his principal residence, having a desire to remain near him. Sebagadis replied, that he liked four places in his dominions besides Adigrate; and that he would go himself with Mr. Kugler to see those places, give him his choice of one of them, and then he (Sebagadis) would make that place his own residence. Mr. Kugler also mentioned, that, as he was very fond of instructing young people, he should like to have five or six boys with him, whom he would teach the English Language, &c. The answer of Sebagadis was, that these people were very ignorant, and he should be very glad to have them taught useful things; and added, that Mr. Kugler should have such boys.”

His employments, as stated by himself under date of July 10th, 1830, were the following:—

“ My principal employment, hitherto, has been the study of the Tigré Dialect; but I am sorry to say, that, till this day, I have been without a

teacher. The only prospect I have at this time of a teacher is, that a Young Man, a *Daftara* (Teacher), has lately applied to me for instruction in Arabic; and this man understands Amharic well, and was born in Tigré.

“ I hope to begin teaching Arabic and English, please God, on the 13th instant. I have at present but little hope of finding a good Translator, until I have instructed some one for this purpose. All whom I have heard translate with Sebagadis, and those whom I have tried for myself, have no idea of a correct translation, even if they understood the Ethiopic pretty well. They cannot help adding a good deal of their own talk to their text; so that their translating is rather commenting on their subject.”

The ardour with which this amiable and devoted Missionary entered on his work, is further exemplified in the following extract, which may form a suitable conclusion to our Extracts from his Journals. It is only to be noticed, that early death (as related at pp. 273, 274 of this volume) cut short the promising appearances of his labours. Mr. Kugler writes:—

“ I look very anxiously for the blessed time when I can have Morning and Evening Worship in Tigré, with my people; and I trust this time is near at hand. My employment during the rainy season will be this: 1. Instruction in Arabic and English, at least two hours daily. 2. Composing another School-book. 3. Translating as

much as I can of the Gospel of St. Luke. 4. Composing a Dictionary in Tigré; which I shall also forward to you, as soon as it is finished." Adding: "As for myself, I am very happy here in this country; though I have at present nothing that would deserve the name of comfort in Europe; but I enjoy good health, and have much work on my hands, the prosperity of which fills my soul with delight."

After continuing some time together in the province of Tigré, it was thought expedient that Mr. Gobat should proceed further into the interior. From this period, the Journal of Mr. Gobat commences, which is now before the reader.

That the previous state of Abyssinia may be clearly understood, prefixed to the Journal is a brief History, which was drawn up by the Rev. Professor Lee, at the request of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, and was printed in the Appendix to their 18th Report.

Of the Journal of Mr. Gobat, it might seem almost superfluous to say any thing, as it speaks with a genuine native simplicity for itself. It may however be important, considering this document as a guide and model for other Missionaries, to notice one uniform and undeviating practice adopted by the Missionary, in all his religious conversations, whether with Priests or Laymen, learned or unlearned, Chieftains or Peasants. The practice alluded to, is, his constant reference to Scripture. This was the strength

of his Mission ; as, indeed, it must be of every similar Christian undertaking. The effect produced hereby upon the minds of the Natives was, not unfrequently, surprise ; but, more generally, irresistible conviction. Here they behold a man coming in the midst of them, with no other object than their real welfare ; with no other text than THUS SAITH THE LORD ; and delighting in no conversation so much, as that which leads them all, together with himself, to see the depth of man's spiritual sinfulness and misery, and the riches of grace abounding to us through Christ Jesus. He at the same time unavoidably listens to their subtle, trifling, and dangerous disputes ; he partakes in these as one not ignorant how far, and in what paths they have so long wandered from *the simplicity that is in Christ*. But he does not answer their sophistries with any refinements like their own ; he simply refutes their errors, by letting in upon them the full blaze of Gospel Truth ; so that they are often as much amazed at their own absurdities, as they are persuaded of the force of Scripture Truth. Thus, wielding the sword of the Spirit, he shivers to pieces the weapons of carnal reason. The reader, while perusing these conversations, will often be reminded of the emphatic language of the Prophet Jeremiah (chap. xxiii. 28, 20) : *The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream ; and he that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully. What is the chaff to the wheat ? saith the Lord. Is not my word like as a*

fire? saith the Lord; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?

That the Missionary should have found such easy access to the minds of the Abyssinians is to be attributed, among secondary causes, chiefly to the circumstance of his having made himself master of the language of the country. Till this prime qualification is attained, a Missionary must ever fail of conveying the whole of his meaning to those with whom he may have, in other respects, the freest intercourse; and very often he must endure the mortification and the injury of being misrepresented, by timid or artful interpreters. It is, however, to be ascribed to the singular goodness of Providence, that Mr. Gobat's life was preserved in the midst of so many harassing and dangerous circumstances of civil war in a foreign land. Nor less is it to be attributed to the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit, that the hearts of so many persons were opened to receive from his lips truths so novel, so spiritual, so humbling, and so directly opposed to many of their opinions and customs.

It may reasonably be expected that the measure of success thus far vouchsafed to Missionary labours in Abyssinia will strengthen the attachment of British Christians toward this Ancient Church. That a nation situated so remarkably between Arabia on the East, and the dense and solid continent of Africa on the West, should not hereafter exert a great influence upon those

regions, seems hardly probable. Unquestionably, should Christian knowledge and a Christian spirit be rekindled in Abyssinia, the revival of piety in that land will be as the lighting up of a Pharos on the hitherto inhospitable Western shores of the Red Sea.

Encouraged by these hopeful prospects, and animated, above all, by faith in the Divine promises, the Committee of the Church Missionary Society have determined to strengthen and extend their operations in Abyssinia. No surer pledge of his conviction that this Mission will succeed, could be given by Mr. Gobat, than his alacrity in returning to resume his post there. Another Missionary also has been sent out; and has been for some time in Egypt, waiting till he shall be joined by Mr. Gobat; which will thus tend to heal in some measure the bitter wound inflicted by the death of his beloved brother Kugler, the early and long-tried companion of his studies, his travels, and his first Missionary labours. Two other students are also now, in this country, in a course of preparation for this Mission. When, through the blessing of God, these and other faithful Missionaries shall have succeeded in raising up a band of Native helpers in the glorious work of educating and evangelizing Eastern Africa, then shall we see accomplished the sincere though inefficient desires of such a man as the lamented Sebagadis, who longed to benefit his country, though he knew not how;—then shall the miseries attendant

upon religious strifes, heresies, and superstitions, be exchanged for that grace, which the large-hearted Apostle of the Gentiles invoked on *all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity*;—then, too, shall every one of those who have laboured for this hitherto benighted land see how truly the Divine promise has been kept—*They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him!*





A
BRIEF HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF ABYSSINIA,

DRAWN UP BY
THE REV. PROFESSOR LEE.

B



BRIEF HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF ABYSSINIA.

Earliest Accounts of the Abyssinian Church.

THE conversion of the Abyssinians to the Christian Faith is said, by the best writers, to have taken place about the year 330, when Athanasius was Patriarch of Alexandria. Meropius, say they, a merchant of Tyre, proceeding to India, touched on the shores of Ethiopia, in the Red Sea; and, dying there, left two youths, by name Frumentius and Edesius; who, being taken and carried to the King, were, on account of their docility and industry, favoured with their liberty, and at length made to preside over the archives of the empire.

After the death of the King, they continued in the same office, under the patronage of the Queen, during the young King's minority. Frumentius, taking advantage of the high station in which Providence had placed him, and of the great influence which his moderation and fidelity had given him among all ranks of people, thought it now time to do something toward the propagation of the Faith among the Abyssinians. He accordingly proceeded to Alexandria; and, having laid his wishes before Athanasius, was ordained Bishop of Ethiopia, whither he immediately returned. After baptizing a great number of the inhabitants, he proceeded to ordain a regular clergy, and to build churches. To

what extent Christianity flourished in the days of Frumentius, it is not easy to determine; but, considering the influence and excellent endowments of the Bishop, it is probable that it was very great.

There is, indeed, a tradition in Ethiopia, as well as in Europe, founded in both instances perhaps on Acts viii. 27, of the Eunuch of Queen Candace having first planted the Faith among the Abyssinians; but, as this is void of all collateral testimony, it has generally been rejected.

It has also been said that St. Matthew and St. Bartholomew were the first Apostles of Ethiopia; but the difficulty of showing that this Ethiopia is the Abyssinia of modern times, and the positive assertions of Rufinus* and Abba Gregory† to the contrary, seem sufficiently to have refuted this assertion.

The Abyssinians, it is believed, have, ever since their conversion to Christianity, received their Patriarch (or Abuna ‡, as they call him) from Alexandria. This is sufficient to account for their creed having always been the same with that of that Church, which is, the Monophysite, or Jacobite, or Monothelite, or Eutychian, which appear to be only different names for the same thing. The peculiar dogma of this heresy—for such it has been called, with what justice I do not pretend to

* *Terram hanc nullo Apostolicæ prædicationis vomere præscissam.*—Ludolf. Hist. Æth. lib. III. c. ii. 29. Ex Rufino.

† *Mihi verò Gregorius dudum retulerat, nullam aliam prædicationem Evangelii in Habessinîâ sciri, quàm quæ tempore Athanasii, regnantibus Abreha et Atzbeha fratribus, religioso viro Abba Salama facta sit; sic enim nomen Frumentii, uti et aliis factum, mutaverunt.* (Ibid. 30.) This Gregory was a very well-informed native of Abyssinia; and gave Ludolf very considerable assistance in studying the Ethiopic language.

‡ Literally, *Our Father.*

determine—is that of acknowledging one nature in Christ, in opposition to the Nestorians, who hold two. On examining some of the best writers, however, on both sides, it will be found very difficult to discover in what they really do differ. I cannot but think with Ludolf and La Croze, that the disputes which have so long divided the Eastern Church on this mysterious point amount to nothing more than a battle about words; which might, long ago, have been merged in the more important and more intelligible point of Christian charity, had not interested views and angry passions determined otherwise.

It is certain that both Monophysites and Nestorians hold the Divinity of our Lord: their disputes respect only the mode of His incarnation. So long as the Church of Alexandria remained at unity with itself and with the Greek Church, that of Abyssinia may be said to have held the same doctrines and customs: but, in the time of the Emperor Marcion, upon the disagreement of the Bishops respecting the doctrine of the Incarnation, the Council of Chalcedon, which is called the Fourth General Council, was assembled; and, in it, the dogmas of Eutyches and Dioscorus, the advocates for the Monophysite Belief, were condemned. Those who embraced the orthodox faith were, out of contempt, called Melchites, *i. e.* Royalists; because they followed the faith of the Emperor. The other party, also, out of contempt, received the title of Eutychians §, Jacobites ||, &c.

§ Ludolf has remarked (*Hist. Æth. lib. III. c. 8. 23*) that the Abyssinians disavow the tenets of Eutyches: to which the Abbé Renaudot agrees, allowing some difference of opinion between these sectaries and the Monophysites: but perhaps this is rather imaginary than real.

|| Some have supposed the Jacobites to have been so called from

On the rise of this lamentable dissension, the reasons of which were but ill understood and much worse explained, those nations that had been subject to the Patriarchate of Alexandria placed themselves under different Heads, as the nature of their belief required. The Melchites ranged themselves under the Patriarch of Constantinople; while the Monophysites adhered still to the Chair of St. Mark in Alexandria: and as the Abyssinians continued to receive their Abunas from Egypt, they, of course, became disciples of the Alexandrian Faith.

Soon after this, and probably on this account solely, the Saracen Power obtained the ascendancy in Egypt. This tended almost entirely to cut off every communication between the Eastern and Western Churches. The Abyssinian Church was, in consequence, a few centuries ago, not so much as known by name in Europe.

The first discovery of the existence of this Church appears to have been made by some adventurers sent out by John II. king of Portugal; who, sailing as far as the river Zaire, in the kingdom of Congo, heard, for the first time, of the Christians of Abyssinia.

The King, overjoyed on this discovery, resolved to send into Abyssinia, in order to ascertain, if possible, the real state of the people. Accordingly, after some fruitless attempts, Pedro Cavilham entered Abyssinia, in the year 1490; and transmitted to Portugal a statement of all that he had seen and heard in Abyssinia. The story of Cavilham, moreover, excited some interest in Abyssinia; and the Abyssinian Emperor Alexander, who gave full

from James (Jacobus) the Apostle: while others assert, and with much greater probability, that they were so named from one Jacobus Baradaeus, a Syrian, who was a warm advocate for this doctrine, and who flourished about the end of the fifth century.

credence to Cavilham's narrative, determined to send an embassy into Portugal: but, as he died before this was undertaken, nothing further was done.

The succeeding Emperor, Nahod, was by no means a man of enterprise; and was so far from carrying into execution the projects of his predecessor, that he actually imprisoned Cavilham, in Abyssinia, where he died.

After the death of Nahod, Lebna Dangel succeeded to the throne: but, as he was a minor, the affairs of the empire were vested in his mother, the Empress Helena; who, hearing of the conquests of the Portuguese in India, thought it would considerably add to the strength of the empire to enter into a treaty offensive and defensive with them.

By this time Emanuel had ascended the throne of Portugal; and, as he was equally anxious for an alliance with the Abyssinians, a treaty was accordingly set on foot, A. D. 1509, and several embassies passed between both courts. Both the Empress, and the young King David, on his ascending the throne, requested that artificers, printers, and learned men, might be sent into Ethiopia; promising, on their part, every assistance which they could render to the interests of the Portuguese in the Indies.

The most remarkable of these embassies was that of Zaga Zaba, which arrived in Portugal A. D. 1527. This person, whether out of compliment to the court of Portugal, which could not but be gratified by any thing that could be brought out against the Reformers, or to satisfy his own vanity, signed a Confession of Faith; of course, made to agree, in essentials, with that of Rome. Zaga Zaba, however, soon discovered that his religion differed considerably from that of Portugal: for, after being

detained there for the space of ten years, and denied the Communion, he was, at length, at the instigation of Bermudes, a Roman Catholic, who had been in Abyssinia, loaded with chains, and cast into prison.

During the stay of Zaga Zaba at Lisbon, the Emperor of Ethiopia was engaged in a destructive and ruinous war; for his Mahomedan neighbours, perceiving that a new and formidable alliance was about to be formed, took the earliest opportunity of rendering it void. With this view, Mahomet Gragné, a neighbouring prince, joining his forces with those of the King of Adel, marched against the Emperor, and, in a pitched battle, completely routed him. David himself, with a few followers, escaped to the mountains; while the Mahomedans ransacked and took possession of the best parts of the empire.

The Emperor, finding himself in this helpless state, and knowing that it was the result of his new alliance, despatched one Bermudes, a Portuguese, before mentioned, to the courts of Rome and Lisbon, in order to implore succours. But, before Bermudes began his journey, the Abuna was ordered to consecrate him Bishop, and to nominate him his successor in the Patriarchate of Ethiopia.

Bermudes is said to have arrived at Rome in 1538. There, after a gracious reception, he was consecrated Patriarch of Ethiopia by the Pope; and was then recommended to the King of Portugal, to solicit succours for Ethiopia. The first act of the new Patriarch, after his arrival in Portugal, was to procure, as has been stated, the imprisonment of Zaga Zaba.

It is said that he received, after this, an order from the King to the Viceroy of Goa, to send immediately four or five hundred soldiers into Ethiopia. Bermudes

arrived in Goa A. D. 1539 : but whether any order was really sent thither, is very doubtful ; for it is certain that no forces were sent into Ethiopia during the lifetime of David, who died in 1540, nor till some time after his son Claudius had ascended the throne ; and, when they did arrive, they do not appear to have come in consequence of any order from the King.

Claudius is said to have gained some advantages over the Mahomedans, with the few forces that he could collect ; but, finding himself unable to sustain a continued warfare, he was, at length, compelled to retire, with his mother, to the mountains.

During this time, accounts were received of a Portuguese fleet having made its appearance in the Red Sea ; whither it appears to have been sent, in order to destroy some Turkish galleys at Suez. The Empress immediately despatched two envoys with letters to the admiral, requesting that he would send immediate succours to the relief of the empire. The envoys met with the fleet at Massowah, where it appears accidentally to have stopped. On presenting the letters of the Empress, they urged, with great warmth, the extremities to which the empire had been reduced, in consequence of its new alliance with the King of Portugal ; and the great probability, that, unless immediate succours were granted, Ethiopia would soon cease to be an empire.

A council of war was, in consequence, called ; and it was determined that four hundred men, and a small train of artillery, should immediately be sent, under the command of Don Christopher da Gama, son of the famous Vasco da Gama.

July 9, 1541, Gama was put on shore, at Arkeko, with his small detachment ; and immediately commenced

his march, under the conduct of the Baharnagash*; hoping soon to relieve the Empress, and, if possible, to join the forces of the Emperor, before Gragné should get between them. Gama succeeded in joining the Empress; but the address of Gragné prevented his junction with the Emperor. It is needless to recount the miracles said to have been performed by this handful of men. It may be sufficient to say, that, in the issue, Gama lost his life, and a great part of his men shared the same fate. The few who remained succeeded in joining the Emperor, with Bermudes at their head; who had taken the opportunity of sailing for Ethiopia, in the Portuguese fleet, from Goa.

Some time after, a battle was fought between the Abyssinian and Mahomedan armies, in which Gragné lost his life, and by which the Emperor was put into quiet possession of his throne.

Affairs being thus settled, the Portuguese began to make large and intolerable demands on the Emperor, for the services which they had rendered to him. It was required that he should embrace the Catholic Faith, and give up one third of his kingdom to them. Either of these proposals would have been sufficient to shock the feelings of any sovereign of much less sensibility than Claudius; but when they came together, accompanied by a threat, that, unless he complied, he should not only be excommunicated, but should lose the service of the Portuguese, they were no longer to be borne.

The threat of excommunication had a very different effect on the Emperor from that expected by Bermudes; for Claudius, instead of complying with the exorbitant demands made on him, declared that the Patriarch had

* Literally, *Coast King*.

no authority whatever in his empire, and that the Pope himself was a heretic: and, to show the sincerity of his belief of this, he immediately sent to Alexandria for an Abuna for the Abyssinian Church; and, on hearing that the Abuna was on his road for Abyssinia, set out himself to meet and welcome him.

Bermudes, hearing of this, immediately followed the Emperor; hoping, by some means or other, to divert him from his object: but Claudius, anticipating the motions of the Patriarch, had ordered him to be seized and put into prison, which was accordingly done; and the new Abuna was received and vested with his authorities, without any opposition from the Catholics. After a short time, however, Bermudes contrived to escape from his confinement; and betook himself to his friend, the Baharnagash of Tigré, where he remained till he left Abyssinia, to make room for the Jesuits.

First Mission of the Jesuits to Abyssinia.

Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesuits, probably aware that the Church of Abyssinia had by no means submitted to the Pope, as had been for some time erroneously reported in Europe, was very desirous of proceeding thither himself, in order to bring about a union: but not obtaining permission from the Pope, he proposed to send thirteen Missionaries of his new Society; hoping that the rich harvest before them would abundantly repay them for all their toils, and at once give his new Order a respectability which none could dispute. In this proposal Loyola succeeded. He accordingly nominated one Nunes Baretto, a Portuguese, as Patriarch; and Andrew Oviedo, and Melchior Carneiro,

as Bishops of Hierapolis and Nice, and in turn to succeed the Patriarch, should occasion require it. To these were added ten more Jesuits; in order, as he said, that this Mission should, in number and object, represent that of Christ and His Apostles. These persons were all approved by the Pope; and were ordained, and sent to Goa.

Some doubts remaining on the mind of the King of Portugal, as to the real state of Ethiopia, and perhaps as to the propriety of sending another Patriarch while Bermudes continued there, he ordered one of his captains, about to sail for Goa, to send, on his arrival there, into Abyssinia, in order to ascertain this point, and, if possible, to bring away Bermudes. On the arrival of the fleet at Goa, envoys were despatched into Ethiopia, according to the mandate of the King. James Dias Oprestes, Gonsalo Rodriguez, and Fulgentio Freyere, all Jesuits, after a short time, landed at Arkeko; and, in about two months after, made their appearance at court. This was in 1555.

The King was by no means pleased with the appearance of these priests; and much less so, when he heard that a great number more were waiting at Goa to be transported into his kingdom. Nor had the arguments of Rodriguez any effect on his mind. Though he very strenuously urged that the Pope was the Vicar of Christ upon earth, and that none could be saved out of the pale of the Roman Church, he was dismissed by the Emperor with this reflection, that these were points worthy the consideration of a Council, and by no means to be determined by the private opinion of a priest; and, on that account, he must expect that the people of Ethiopia would not be very precipitate in relinquishing the faith

of their forefathers. As to the Missionaries, he said, some one should be appointed to meet them at Mas-sowah. The envoys were then dismissed; and the Emperor, without making any provision for them, set forward on a journey of some distance into the country.

Rodriguez, not knowing which way to turn himself, was taken to the house of a wealthy Portuguese. There, during the absence of the King, he wrote a Tract on the Christian Religion; which, with some difficulty, he got translated into Ethiopic; and, on the return of the King, presented it to him. This, however, like the arguments that had already been urged in favour of popery, seemed rather to alienate, than attract, the affections of the Emperor.

Rodriguez, finding nothing was to be done at court, hastened back to Bermudes, who was with the Baharnagash in the Tigré; and, after persuading the Patriarch that he was every day in danger of being murdered, prevailed on him to accompany him to Goa: and thus, though he failed of succeeding with the Emperor, he had the address to clear the way for the new Patriarch and the Jesuits.

On the arrival of Rodriguez and the Ex-Patriarch at Goa, it was thought advisable, first to send Bishop Oviedo, with some of the Fathers, into Abyssinia; and, on their being able to send a favourable account of the state of things there, the Patriarch, with his associates, was to follow.

Oviedo accordingly embarked for Abyssinia; and in a short time arrived at Arkeko, and soon after at Deborowah. Meeting there with the Baharnagash, the firm friend of the Catholics, and informing him of the intentions of the Court of Goa, he remained a few days:

and receiving advice that the Emperor wished to see him at court, he set out with his friend the Baharnagash; and soon arrived at the camp, where the Emperor then held his court.

Oviedo, being admitted to the presence, and delivering the letters of the Pope and of the King of Portugal, observed the Emperor to be much disconcerted on examining their contents: but he soon resumed his natural good humour; and nothing further being transacted, the Bishop was dismissed, without having gained or lost any thing.

In the next interview, the Bishop grew more bold; and roundly asked the Emperor, whether he intended to submit to the Pope or not; assuring him, at the same time, that, out of his jurisdiction, salvation was not to be expected. To questions of this kind the Emperor mildly replied, that the Abyssinian Church had, from the beginning, been subject to the Patriarch of Alexandria; and, as he and his people had hitherto had no reason to be dissatisfied with this subjection, he could not see why he should refuse to continue it: and, as to the errors with which the Bishop had been pleased to charge them in his Tract, he might inform himself more correctly on that point by reading the Confession of Faith*, which he had lately published.

The Bishop, however, being determined to stop at nothing short of the submission of the Emperor and his Church, again urged his plea; and again received a reply, if possible less satisfactory than the former—that the matter should be laid before the Council, and that the Bishop should soon be informed of their decision.

Oviedo was well aware that he had nothing to expect

* Vide Com. Lud. p. 237.

from this proceeding ; and, in order to put it aside, wrote a warm remonstrance to the Emperor, reminding him of the requests which his predecessors had made to the Pope and the King of Portugal for learned men ; and of the submission that had already been made by his Church to the Pope, and his own acknowledgment of Bermudes as a Patriarch among them : cautioning him, at the same time, to beware of the advice of his mother the Empress, and of his own Ministers ; and laying it down as self-evident, that, in the present case, in which matters of faith were concerned, both father and mother should be hated ; and that his greatest enemies were those of his own house.

Sophistry of this kind, it might be expected, would not have much weight on the mind of Claudius, who appears to have been a better divine and a sounder reasoner than Oviedo. It had the effect, accordingly, of alienating his affections more and more, daily, both from the man and his cause. The Bishop perceiving this, gave a public challenge to the learned in Abyssinia to dispute the point. This challenge was accepted ; and Claudius, to manifest his zeal for his religion, and perhaps fearing that the sophistry of the Jesuit might puzzle his monks, took a principal part in the dispute ; in which, according to the Jesuit historians themselves, he very much foiled the Bishop.

But Oviedo was not to be silenced by a public refutation, and determined to try what was to be done by controversy. He accordingly wrote a Tract, exposing the errors of the Abyssinian Church ; which, when completed, he sent to the Emperor, requesting him to give it a fair consideration. To this the Emperor acceded ; for he not only read the Tract, but wrote a refutation of every article in it.

The Bishop, finding that neither disputing nor writing would serve his turn, determined on an expedient which he thought would be more decisive. This was nothing less than that of excommunicating the whole Church of Abyssinia; which he did on the 5th of February 1559, in the Church of Decome.

These proceedings, as they served to expose both the errors and the spirit of popery, were more than sufficient to confirm the mind of the Emperor in his own religion; "WHO," as Geddes has well remarked (p. 119), "THE MORE HE KNEW OF POPERY AND ITS WAYS, THE WORSE HE LIKED IT."

But, while Claudius was exulting in the victories which he had obtained over the Bishop, he was suddenly called on to equip himself for a warfare of a very different description; and in which he was, in his turn, to be numbered among the vanquished. Nur, the son of the King of Adel, observing the unguarded state of the Abyssinian frontier, marched in with a great army, plundering and destroying wherever he went. This news reaching the ears of Claudius, he got together an entirely undisciplined army, and met the enemy. His army was completely routed, and himself slain in the field. Thus fell a man who, for piety, learning, and moderation, has perhaps had few equals; and who might have obviated, had he been spared, much of the distress and bloodshed that were permitted afterward to visit Abyssinia. But we must stop, and adore the Power at whose command nations and empires flourish and decay; and must confess, that *His thoughts are not as our thoughts*, and that *His judgments are past finding out*.

Claudius, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Adam, a man of a fierce and haughty disposition; who, on coming to the throne, vowed vengeance against

the Catholics ; upon whose account, he said, his brother had not only lost his life, but the whole empire of Ethiopia had been reduced nearly to ruin. He accordingly seized the lands which his brother had granted to the Portuguese for their services in a former war ; compelled such women as had married Catholics to return to their ancient religion ; and threatened the Bishop with death, if he persisted in corrupting his subjects with the dogmas of Rome.

Whether the Jesuits had really any hand in the overthrow of Claudius or not, it is not now very easy to determine : but that Adam had some reason for his severity, is but too apparent ; for the Baharnagash of Tigré, the sworn friend of the Catholics, on witnessing the little prospect of success which the Fathers had in Ethiopia, retired from court ; and, taking up arms against the Emperor, was joined immediately by the Portuguese. Sending one Andrew Galdamas to Goa to implore succours, without which, he said, no conversion was to be expected, he waited only for their arrival in order to march against the Emperor. But, unhappily for the cause of the Fathers, this Galdamas was hewn to pieces by the Mahomedans at Arkeko, as he was about to embark for Goa. In addition to this, and perhaps in conjunction with it, a rebellion broke out in one of the inland provinces, where they proclaimed one Tascaro, a nephew to the Emperor, King.

Adam, hearing of all this, immediately marched against the Baharnagash, in order to give him battle before he should be joined by the succours from India, and completely defeated him. He then marched against his nephew ; and, meeting with similar success, had the young usurper beheaded in his presence. The Baharna-

gash, however, not falling into the hands of Adam, fled with his Portuguese to the Mahomedans; and, advising them of the confused state of the empire, and of the assistance which he expected from Goa, prevailed on them to march a large army into Adam's dominions. The Emperor immediately led his forces against them; but his army was completely routed, and he himself slain in the field. Nor did the Bishop and his associates fare much better: for, being kept close prisoners in the train of the Emperor, they were, after the battle, stript by the Mahomedans; and had nearly perished, before their friend, the Baharnagash, came up to their assistance.

Adam was succeeded in the throne by Malac Saged, his son; who, though he took no immediate steps against the Fathers and their friends, who had retired in disgrace to Fremona, yet, as there is reason to believe, disliked them and their religion no less than his predecessors Claudius and Adam.

The Fathers, however, still hoping to regain their power, and with it the Kingdom of Ethiopia, did not lie idle at Fremona; but incessantly plied the Viceroy of Goa for the troops which they had so long expected; with which they said that they could, with the greatest ease, reduce the Church and Kingdom of Ethiopia to the obedience of the Faith. These requests do not appear, however, to have fallen in with the policy of Goa. The Viceroy, indeed, prevailed on the King of Portugal to solicit the Pope for the recall of the Fathers.

The Pope accordingly issued a Bull, dated St. Peter's, A. D. 1560, recalling Oviedo; and, at the same time, ordering him, forthwith, to sail for the Island of Japan, or for China, where he hoped his labours would be crowned with better success.

This, no doubt, gave a great shock to the feelings of the Bishop: yet, as he was determined to leave no effort untried for the object which he had in view, he wrote a submissive letter to the Pope, stating his perfect willingness to go whithersoever his Holiness should think fit: yet he must be permitted to inform him, that, with the assistance of five or six hundred good Portuguese soldiers, he could, at any time, reduce the empire of Abyssinia to the obedience of the Pontificate; and, when he considered that it was a country surrounded by territories abounding with the *FINEST GOLD*, and promising a rich harvest of souls to the Church, he trusted his Holiness would give the matter further consideration. The Pope was, however, for some reason or other, disinclined to enter into the Bishop's plans; and vessels were accordingly despatched from Goa, to fetch away the Fathers from Abyssinia. And thus ended a Mission, which, for the extent of the mischief that it did, and the villany displayed by its abettors, can only be equalled by that which succeeded it—undertaken with similar views, supported by the same base machinations, and terminating in similar disgrace.

Second Mission of the Jesuits to Abyssinia.

On the failure of the First Abyssinian Mission, the Jesuits appear to have given up, for some time, all thoughts of reducing that Church to the authority of the Pontif: but, on the accession of Philip II. to the throne of Portugal, the matter began again to be agitated; and it was at length determined, that two Fathers, Anthony de Montserrat and Peter Pays, should be disguised as Armenian merchants, and sent into Abyssinia.

These Missionaries set out from Goa in 1588; and,

after some difficulties, obtained a passage in a vessel bound for the port of Zeyla : but a storm arising, they were wrecked on the coast of Arabia ; and, being discovered to be Christian priests, were carried before a neighbouring King, who threw them into prison, where they remained about seven years.

News of this disaster arriving at Goa, the head-quarters of Oriental persecution at that day, it was determined to send one Abraham de Georgys, a Maronite Jesuit, and with him an Abyssinian Youth, into Ethiopia. They accordingly disguised themselves as Turks, and embarked for Massowah ; but the Governor discovering that Georgys was a Christian, told him, as he had feigned himself to be a Mahomedan, he must now really become one, or lose his head. Georgys chose the latter, and was immediately beheaded.

After this, one John Baptista, an Italian, was consecrated Bishop, and sent into Ethiopia ; but, being discovered by the Turks at the island of Comera, he met the same fate as Father Abraham.

Don Alexio de Menezes, who was, at this time, Archbishop of Goa, and busily employed in reducing the Church of Malabar, hearing of the ill successes of the Abyssinian Mission, determined to do something toward the reduction of that Church. He accordingly prevailed on one Belchior Sylva, a converted Brahmin at Goa, to undertake a Mission into Ethiopia. Sylva accepted the proposal ; and reached Deborowah in Ethiopia in safety.

Menezes, hearing of the arrival of Sylva, wrote to the Abuna of Ethiopia immediately to submit to the Pontif, as, he said, his spiritual head, the Patriarch of Alexandria, had already done : and, that this letter might not fail to have some weight with the Abuna, it was accompanied

by a considerable present, and an assurance that his circumstances would be much meliorated by acceding to these proposals. Menezes, at the same time, despatched a letter to the Pope, requesting that he would use his influence with the Patriarch of Alexandria, in order to compel the Abuna to submit: but, unfortunately for the Archbishop's plan, the Patriarch of Alexandria had, in reality, never submitted to the Pope, so that he completely failed.

The Jesuits, seeing the zeal of Menezes for the reduction of Ethiopia, were again roused to attempt a work in which they had encountered such signal disgrace. They accordingly prevailed upon the King of Portugal to grant them some transports, to convey their Missionaries into Ethiopia. As Peter Pays had but lately been ransomed from his imprisonment, he, with some others, was fixed upon to enter upon the work.

Father Peter arrived safely in Ethiopia, in the summer of 1603. Having acquainted Jacob, who was then Emperor, of his arrival, he was ordered to wait the Emperor's pleasure. But a revolution taking place, in which Jacob was ultimately deposed and Za Dangel succeeded to the empire, the Father, in the mean time, employed himself in writing, and translating into the Ethiopic, some Treatises on the Christian Religion.

Za Dangel, who appears to have been a weak prince, being established in the throne, and hearing of the great piety and industry of Peter, and perhaps hoping eventually to obtain some Portuguese troops to give stability to his power, sent for the Father to court. Peter, aware of his rising reputation, and impatient of a rival in the reduction of Ethiopia, took this opportunity of remanding Belchior Sylva to India; as he saw no probability

that a converted Brahmin could enter with any spirit into the intriguing views of a Jesuit. Sylva was therefore despatched for India; and Father Peter made his way to court, in order to avail himself of the prospects opening before him.

Whatever was the real cause of the encouragement held out to Peter, it is certain, that it had neither the advancement of Religion, nor submission to the Pope, for its object. The Father himself ascribes it to the admirable proficiency which two Portuguese Boys had made in learning their Catechism: but this is a mere feint, intended to amuse such as can look no farther for the motives of an intriguer. It is certain that Za Dangel had great reason to fear Jacob's party; and it is not improbable that Peter had held out to both a promise of Portuguese troops. Both parties accordingly made their court to Peter; and, as we shall see in the sequel, that of the Emperor seems not to have succeeded with the Jesuit.

Peter, perceiving matters at court verging to a crisis, and knowing that it would be much safer to join the triumphant party than to involve himself in disputes of which no one could foresee the end, retired from court, under the pretence of confessing two Portuguese, who, as he said, were sick at some distance.

About a month after, a rebellion broke out, in which the Emperor lost his life. Father Peter receiving an invitation from his friend Athanateus, the leader of the rebels, to join the camp, he immediately proceeded thither.

On the arrival of Peter at the camp, he found the rebels far less agreed about the succession than he had hoped; and hearing, about the same time, of more Jesuits having arrived at Fremona, he requested leave of

absence, which was granted; he intending to wait there till the question of succession should be finally settled.

After much altercation, Jacob was again proclaimed Emperor by the insurgents: but, as one Susneus, a descendant of David, a former Emperor, had also declared himself the rightful heir to the crown, the throne of Jacob could not, as yet, be considered secure: but, as great expectations had been formed of the Portuguese succours, Athanateus took the opportunity of recommending Father Peter to his majesty's notice; intimating, at the same time, the great advantages that would arise from an alliance with the Portuguese.

Father Peter, on his arrival at court, followed up the hint given by the General; and great hopes were entertained by the Father of the speedy reduction of the Abyssinian Church.

The increasing popularity of Susneus, however, quickly put an end to the golden dreams of Peter; for, having assembled a large army, it was necessary that Jacob should take the field against him. In the event, he was slain, and Susneus succeeded to the throne. He took the name of Sultan Saged.

The next step to be taken by the Fathers, was to make their court to the new Emperor: but, as they deemed it imprudent to make Father Peter of their deputation, on account of his known intimacy with Jacob, Fathers Lawrence Romano and Anthony Fernandez were chosen for this purpose. On their arrival at court, they were most kindly received, and had several conferences with the King. In one of these, the Emperor is said to have inquired about Father Peter, whose fame he had heard; and whom he, therefore, very much desired to see. The Father was accordingly sent for; and, on experiencing

a very warm reception, he took the earliest opportunity of suggesting to his majesty the great advantage to be derived from an alliance with the courts of Rome and Portugal; which, he added, could not fail to give stability to his newly-acquired power.

On the representation of Father Peter, Susneus is said to have despatched letters both to the Pope and to the King of Spain, requesting immediate succours to be sent into Abyssinia. These letters were seconded by others from Athanateus, who requested that not fewer than a thousand Portuguese soldiers should be sent for the preservation of the empire. In the mean time the Jesuits plied the Emperor on the necessity of embracing the Roman Faith; in which Father Peter is said to have succeeded, by showing him a passage, in one of their popular Treatises on Religion, in which the two natures of Christ were distinctly pointed out. But the Emperor's brother, Ras Cella Christos, seems to have been a much more apt scholar than the Emperor in these points; for he was not only at once convinced of the orthodoxy of the Roman Faith, but of the errors of the Alexandrian. There is some reason, however, to believe that arguments much more cogent than any to be found in the Abyssinian Treatises on Religion had the effect of bringing the mind of the Ras to this conclusion.

Some time after this, an embassy was despatched on its way to Spain: but, as it entirely failed, the Fathers renewed their work of subjugation, by giving a challenge to the Doctors of Abyssinia to dispute with them on the nature of their religion. The Fathers are said to have succeeded in this beyond all expectation; insomuch that the Emperor now consigned all offices of trust to such as had already embraced the Roman Faith, or appeared

inclined to embrace it; and even issued a proclamation, imposing severe penalties on all who should assert that there was but one nature in Christ.

The Abuna, hearing of these proceedings, hastened to court; and, on coming into the presence, threatened the Emperor with excommunication, for having permitted the late disputes on Religion without his licence. The Emperor said, that, by so doing, he had only endeavoured to heal the existing schism in the Church; but if the Abuna wished it, he would order the question to be resumed in his presence. This being agreed, the question was resumed, and the monks again succeeded, to the utter consternation of the Abuna; who appears to have been a man much better qualified to complain than to dispute.

These successes were followed up, as might be expected, by the Jesuits, who hoped soon to be able to bring matters to a crisis. They accordingly prevailed on the Emperor to publish a second edict, in which it was made death for any one to affirm that there were not two natures in Christ.

The Abuna, on his return home, knowing that nearly the whole country, as well as a great part of the court, had espoused his side of the question, ventured to excommunicate all who should embrace the Roman Faith. This gave some uneasiness to the mind of the Emperor; but, on advising with Father Peter, he was brought, not only to disregard the excommunication, but to issue a third edict, commanding all his subjects forthwith to embrace the Roman Faith.

The Abuna, perceiving things going thus against him, wrote circular letters to his friends, exhorting them one and all to stand up in defence of their ancient faith. They accordingly immediately fled to arms.

The first that distinguished himself in this insurrection was Elius, who was son-in-law to the Emperor and Viceroy of Tigré. This nobleman seized on the estates of all within his jurisdiction who had embraced the Roman Faith; and, at the same time, commenced a hot persecution against the Fathers at Fremona.

The friends of the Emperor perceiving matters begin to assume a serious aspect, conjured him, as he valued his empire and his life, to desist from a pursuit which would eventually involve him in distress and ruin. But the Emperor, either infatuated by the sophistry of the Jesuits or provoked by the proceedings of his son-in-law, refused compliance, declaring he would support the Roman Faith to the utmost.

During this time the Abuna was giving his cause all the popularity in his power. The Emperor, wishing to thwart him therein, sent for him to court; and a letter was despatched to Father Peter, requesting his immediate presence.

In a short time the Abuna, attended by a great number of his clergy, and Father Peter with his associates, made their appearance at court. The question respecting the Faith being again agitated, the parties, as is usual in such cases, separated worse friends, and better satisfied with their own opinions than ever. The Abuna, however, willing to make another attempt on the Emperor, attended by several of the clergy, threw himself at his feet; and, after indulging some time in immoderate grief on the probable results of the Emperor's proceedings, conjured him, by all that was sacred, not to regard the sophistry of the Jesuits, but to permit his clergy and subjects to persevere in their ancient faith. To all this the Emperor paid no regard whatever. The Abuna and his clergy rose, therefore, and left the court in disgust.

Elius, finding that the Emperor was determined to support the Jesuits and their religion, notwithstanding all that had been said by the Abuna, issued a proclamation throughout Tigré, commanding all who were Roman Catholics forthwith to join the Emperor and his court, while those who were willing to defend their ancient faith, should immediately repair to him. The consequence was, that an immense army soon joined the Viceroy, who immediately commenced his march for the royal camp, determined to establish the ancient faith, or to perish in the attempt.

The Abuna Simeon, who was now about a hundred years old, joined the insurgents; and, on giving them his blessing, assured them that every soldier who should fall in that campaign would die a martyr. This assurance had the intended effect on the minds of the soldiers; who, in consequence, appeared impatient for the conflict.

On the appearance of the army of the Viceroy in sight of the royal camp, the Emperor despatched his daughter, the Viceroy's wife, to inquire his demands; and to make him very considerable offers, with a free pardon for his present offences, provided he would immediately lay down his arms; and, in case the Viceroy should refuse compliance, to request an armistice for a few days. But Elius, probably supposing this to be an indication of the Emperor's inability to face him, and that he only wished for delay in order to form a junction with the forces of his brother Ras Cella, positively refused both, and began to make preparation for the attack.

Scarcely had the Princess reached the tent of her father, when the attack was made by the Viceroy; and, as his cause had numerous supporters among the royal troops, he entered the camp without molestation, and had actually

proceeded within a short distance of the Emperor's tent, when a body of the Tigrians fell upon him, and killed him on the spot. His followers, as if panic struck on the fall of their leader, threw down their arms, and fled: many, nevertheless, fell in the attempt.

The Abuna finding himself thus left alone, and being too feeble to hope for safety from flight, remained on the spot where he had first posted himself. His character and appearance, however, sheltered him from the insults of the Abyssinian soldiers; but a Portuguese coming up, and having no compassion on his grey hairs, instantly struck him to the earth with his spear.

The flame that had been excited by the Viceroy and the Abuna might have been extinguished with them, had not the Emperor, mistaking this overthrow for a victory, issued another edict, forbidding the people to observe the Jewish Sabbath; which, together with the Lord's Day, they had venerated from the highest antiquity.

This proclamation coming to the hands of Joanel, the Viceroy of Bagemder, was read and commented on by him in such a manner as to leave no doubt on the minds of the people as to his sentiments on the proceedings of the Emperor.

The people, on the prospect of obtaining a leader in the Viceroy, and finding themselves unable any longer to submit to the cruelty of the Emperor and the Jesuits, flocked to him from all parts, requesting him to stand up for their religion and liberty. This was what the Viceroy wished; and, as he had received some promises of assistance from the Gallas, he did not hesitate a moment to comply with the request.

Intelligence of this event arriving at court, a great number of the King's friends, of both sexes, solicited him,

as he valued his crown and life, to give over an enterprise which promised nothing but distress and ruin. His majesty, however, was not to be checked by entreaties; and said, in reply, that it was not the duty of his subjects to remonstrate, but obey; reminding them of their inconstancy to his predecessors, Jacob and Za Dangel; and assuring them, that he was not only determined to persevere as he had begun, but to make it cost them dearly who should dare to oppose him.

A short time after, the Emperor received a letter from the Viceroy of Bagemder, demanding the dismissal of the Jesuits from Ethiopia, and his own appointment as Viceroy of Bagemder for life. But in these demands the Emperor determined not only to resist him, but to chastise him for preferring them; and marched, for that purpose, with a large army against him. The Viceroy, finding himself too weak to engage the imperial army, retired to the mountains: but being closely besieged, and his provisions and army daily diminishing, he at length escaped to the Gallas; where, being followed by the gold of the Emperor, he was betrayed and murdered.

Peace seemed again, for a moment, to be restored to Ethiopia: but scarcely had the insurgents of Bagemder returned to their homes, when the Damotes, a people inhabiting the banks of the Nile, harassed by the iniquitous exactions of the Jesuits, rose to a man; resolving to dethrone the Emperor, and to rid the country of their oppressors. The army collected, on this occasion, amounted, it is said, to about fourteen thousand men, of whom a great number were Monks and Hermits: but Ras Cella being sent against them with a well-disciplined army, completely routed them, leaving great numbers dead on the field.

The news of this victory gave great joy at court ; but particularly to Father Peter, who, congratulating the Emperor on the invariable success of his arms, could not help remarking the favours which Divine Providence seemed to bestow in furtherance of the Roman Faith, in direct opposition to that of Alexandria. The Emperor, who had hitherto forborne to make a public confession of the Faith of Rome, now ventured to do it ; having first confessed his sins to Father Peter.

The Father, however, surviving these successes but a very short time, letters were despatched to Goa, requesting a Patriarch, with at least twenty Fathers : for, as they stated, the harvest was now truly plenteous, and the labourers few. But as the establishment in India was probably unable to supply so great a number, application was made at Rome ; where the General of the Jesuits, Mucio Vitelesci, took on him both to make a public submission to the Pope, and also warmly to solicit, like his predecessor Loyola, permission to go into Ethiopia, in order to complete the great work that had so happily been begun : but in this attempt he was, like Loyola, unsuccessful ; though he obtained permission to send one Manuel d'Almeida as his Nuncio. This Jesuit, with three other Fathers, arrived at Fremona in 1624 ; and, a short time after, proceeded to court, where they received a hearty welcome. About this time the Emperor, in order to conciliate the affections of his people to the Roman priests, published a manifesto, accusing the former Abunas of the most flagrant crimes.

The Emperor, who had for some time looked with a jealous eye on the zeal of his brother, Ras Cella Christos, for the Roman party, began now to manifest his disapprobation thereof, in a most unequivocal manner. Nor

is it likely that the Emperor's suspicions were ill founded : yet, circumstanced as he was, he judged it prudent to proceed with caution ; and rather to remove his brother out of the way, than to break openly with him. Accordingly, another rebellion breaking out under one Cabrael, the Ras was ordered to take the command of the army against the insurgents. In this campaign the Ras was victorious ; and having procured the death of Cabrael by bribing the Gallas to whom he had fled for refuge, he returned to court, only to be more feared and hated by the Emperor.

In the mean time, the courts of Rome and Madrid determined to send a Patriarch into Abyssinia. Alphonso Mendez was, accordingly, consecrated Patriarch ; and James Seco and John da Rocha, Bishops of Nice and Hierapolis. On the 21st of June 1624, the Patriarch, with his coadjutor, the Bishop of Hierapolis, arrived at Fremona ; the Bishop of Nice having died on the voyage.

After a short time the Patriarch and his associates were summoned to court. Experiencing a most splendid reception, and taking advantage of the auspicious circumstances in which they found themselves placed, they prevailed on the Emperor to fix the 11th of December following for the submission of the Abyssinian Church to the See of Rome. On the day appointed, the Emperor and the Patriarch took their seats in the great hall of the palace ; and, after a sermon, on the text, *Thou art Peter*, &c., a solemn abjuration of the Alexandrian Faith was made by Saged and his courtiers ; which was concluded by an excommunication of all such as should, at any future time, violate any of these oaths. This was followed by two proclamations ; the one, forbidding all native priests from officiating, till licensed by the Patri-

arch; the other, commanding all subjects of the empire forthwith to embrace popery, and to discover and bring to punishment all such as should still adhere to their ancient religion.

The provision of an ample establishment for the new Patriarch and his associates was the next point to be considered. For this purpose, a large estate and palace, lying on the Lake of Dembea, was granted to the prelate: but this being thought insufficient, another palace was built for him at Doncar; where a college, large enough to accommodate sixty students, was also erected.

The Jesuit Fathers being but few, the Patriarch sent out, as Missionaries, throughout the empire, such Abyssinian priests as he believed to be most zealous for the Roman Faith; and the work of subjugation appeared to be going successfully on.

Circumstances, however, soon convinced both the Emperor and the Patriarch that their success was rather apparent than real: for two of the Missionaries, proceeding to say Mass in a church in the Tigré, were not only forbidden to do so, but, on their refusal to obey, were found murdered in their beds on the following day. Nor had the fates of Elius, Joanel, Cabrael, and their followers, sufficient terror in them to deter others from following their example: for Tecla George, who had married a daughter of the Emperor, disagreeing with his father-in-law, and being joined by two noblemen, Guebra Mariam and John Acayo, took up arms against the state, resolving to defend the faith of his forefathers to the uttermost. He accordingly issued a proclamation, commanding all who wished to adhere to the ancient faith to bring their beads and crucifixes to him; which being done, he committed them publicly to the flames,

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on the 5th of November following; and, in order to convince the multitude of the sincerity of his professions, killed his own chaplain, Abba Jacob, in their presence, because he had refused to abjure the Roman Religion.

Intelligence of this insurrection arriving at court, Kebo Christos, a bigoted papist, and Viceroy of Tigré, was despatched with an army, to restore order. Coming up with the forces of George earlier than was expected, he completely routed his army, and put to the sword every man, woman, and child, that fell in his way. George, and his sister Adera, fled to a cave; where, after three days' concealment, they were discovered and brought before the Emperor. George was condemned to be burnt, as a heretic; but, having some hopes of pardon held out to him, on recantation, he was prevailed on to express a desire of being admitted to the Church. This, however, having the effect of only changing the nature of his sentence, he again relinquished the Roman Faith; and was soon after hanged, in presence of the courtiers of both sexes, who were compelled to witness his tragical end.

To consummate this barbarity, the King declared, that no one, on commission of the like crime, must henceforth expect pardon; as he was determined to extend to none a favour that he had now denied to his own son-in-law. The sister of George, about fifteen days after, accordingly shared the same fate, on the same tree, and in presence of the same spectators, notwithstanding every effort had been made by the court to save her.

This vindictive mode of proceeding appears to have been quite new in Abyssinia, and to have been recently introduced with the new religion*. "Whoever," says

Geddes' Church History of Ethiopia, p. 35.

Father Anthony, who was present on the occasion, "shall diligently read the History of Ethiopia, and shall observe the want of vindictive justice that was therein, and the clemency which Sultan Saged had used before with all that had rebelled against him, must, of necessity, reckon his punishing of Tecla George so severely to have been one of the greatest MIRACLES that had happened many years in Ethiopia." It is not our business or intention here to vindicate the character of George, who certainly met a fate that the most enlightened and equitable courts might have awarded; nor to lament the fall of his sister, who, however, appears to have stood charged with no other crime than that of having accompanied her brother: but we must be permitted to hold up to infamy the diabolical spirit of this Patriarch and his wicked associates—men, who, not contented with the uncontrolled abuse of authority wherever they succeeded in attaining it, even boasted in extending the reign of desolation and death, and held up as miraculous the deterioration of the principles of human actions wherever they could effect it. How unlike is this to the mild spirit of Him, whose name they bore, and whose cross they professed to have taken up! who, while He went about doing good, and was persecuted from city to city, wept, on foreseeing the distress of those who should be His betrayers and murderers!

Divine Providence, however, at length intervened, to check, and to stop for ever, this desolating career. The groans of many, who had retired to the dens and caves of the earth, and on being discovered had either been murdered in them or dragged forth to execution, entered into the ears of Him, in whose cause they bled; for the Patriarch and his associates, intoxicated with power, com-

mitted an act that laid the foundation of their entire expulsion from this unhappy country. They entered into a plot with Ras Cella Christos to dethrone the Emperor ; which, coming to the Emperor's ears, sank the cause of Rome in his estimation, to a degree that it never was able to recover.

Another aggravating circumstance took place about the same time. The Chief Priest of the Abyssinian Church, next in authority to the Abuna, dying without having submitted to the Patriarch, and being interred in one of the churches, was ordered to be exhumated, and cast out to be devoured by the wolves. The Abyssinians, on witnessing this act, were confirmed in their abhorrence of the Jesuits and their religion—a religion, said they, that not only persecutes the living with sequestration and death, but denies that reverence and repose to the dead which even Heathens and Mahomedans allow.

In 1629, the Agas of Bagemder taking up arms in defence of their ancient religion, and having massacred the soldiers quartered on them, and driven the Viceroy Za Mariam out of the province, sent envoys to Melca Christos, a son of one of the former Emperors, who had taken refuge among the Gallas, requesting him to accept the crown, and immediately to join them in defence of the Faith. The Prince agreed ; and the insurgents were immediately joined by great numbers from all parts of the empire, and especially by the peasants of Lasta, who are said to be the stoutest men in all Abyssinia. The Emperor, wishing to crush the rebellion as early as possible, marched immediately, by the way of Gojam, with an army of 25,000 men, and attacked the peasants in their strongest mountain ; but was beat back with considerable loss : and, had not Kebo Christos come up

with a reinforcement, it is probable that the peasants would have obtained a signal victory. The loss of the Emperor in officers is said to have been considerable; and he left not fewer than seven hundred of his soldiers dead on the field of battle.

The Emperor finding himself in great want of an experienced general, sent for Ras Cella to take the command against the peasants. The Ras succeeding in driving them out of the kingdom of Gojam, the government of that district was bestowed on him. The chief command of the whole army was, at the same time, conferred on Basilides, the young Prince, and heir-apparent to the crown.

The nomination of the Prince to the command of the army was considered as a great triumph to the Alexandrian party at court, as he appeared well affected to the ancient faith. Their next object was to get rid of Ras Cella and Kebo Christos. The Ras was soon after sent to his province; and Kebo Christos despatched, with a few troops, into the Tigré, where the Prince was to join him, and then to march against the peasants of Lasta. But Kebo waiting till his provisions were nearly exhausted, and the Prince not appearing, he began his retreat; which the peasants perceiving, they fell on the rear of his army, many of whom perished, with Kebo, who commanded them: the rest joined the peasants.

Another champion for the Roman Faith, Tecur Egzi, falling about the same time by the hands of the Gallas, the leaders of the Alexandrian party at court waited on the Emperor, beseeching him to take into consideration the cause of his subjects; who, they said, had now been for some years employed in destroying one another, and that for the sole purpose of introducing a religion which

they neither understood nor had any disposition to learn. This remonstrance, followed up by some other considerations, began to have some effect on the minds of both the Emperor and people, for the restoration of the ancient faith. The Emperor, sending in consequence for the Patriarch, proposed some measures of toleration for his subjects.

Considering the present declining state of the Catholic interest at court, this proposal was perhaps nothing more than the Patriarch had anticipated; and his reply was such as, under his circumstances, might have been expected. "Your Highness," said he, "has been misled by wicked counsellors; who, under the pretence of toleration, have in view nothing short of the entire extirpation of the Catholic Church from Abyssinia." The Emperor insisting that something must speedily be done, the Patriarch agreed to admit such of the ancient customs as did not militate against the Roman Faith; but with this condition, that the present Indulgence should not be proclaimed.

About this time, A. D. 1630, letters are said to have been received in Abyssinia from the Pope, encouraging the Emperor and the Prince to persevere in the faith which they had embraced, and to fight manfully against its opponents. These letters were accompanied by a jubilee, which was the sport and derision of the Abyssinians; for they were unable to conceive on what authority the Pope pretended to forgive sins.

Whether these letters had any influence on the mind of the Emperor, it is not very easy to determine. It is certain, however, that nothing further was said of the proposed toleration, till another rebellion forced the consideration on the mind of the Emperor.

Ras Cella, again falling into disgrace, was succeeded by one Sertza Christos in the Viceroyship of Gojam ; who, growing impatient of the tardy proceedings of the Emperor against popery, without further hesitation proclaimed the young Prince, Emperor. This step, he imagined, would be grateful to Basilides ; and accordingly he immediately despatched a courier, informing him what he had done, and requesting him forthwith to join him with the army of the Emperor. But never was a man more miserably deceived than Sertza was in this particular ! for the Prince, instead of accepting the proposals sent to him, seized and loaded the messenger with chains, and sent him to the Emperor. He moreover commenced his march, in order, if possible, to cut off the army of Sertza Christos, before it should join the peasants of Lasta, which he understood it was his intention to do.

The Viceroy not at all anticipating the rapid movements of the Imperial Army, continued to amuse himself and his followers with the commission of some cruelties which very much disgrace his memory. The army, however, at length appearing, the insurgents were completely routed, and the Viceroy himself, with many of his officers, was taken prisoner, and sent to the Emperor. He was soon after beaten to death with clubs, and his officers beheaded. One, however, who was more inveterate against popery than the rest, was, at the instigation of the Jesuits, suspended by an iron hook for a whole day ; which failing to silence his invectives, his tongue was cut out ; and he was at last dispatched by the spears of the military.

Nothing now remained to be done, but to reduce the peasants of Lasta : and for this purpose the Emperor

assembled a numerous army, and marched against them. In this campaign, however, the Emperor failed, and was compelled to retire with some confusion; which the peasants perceiving, they cut off many in the rear, and then fell upon the Viceroy of Bagender, whom they also compelled to retreat with considerable loss.

On this failure, the Alexandrian party again plied the Emperor on the necessity of granting a toleration; urging, that his name would not only be marked with infamy, as the destroyer of his own subjects, in the future annals of their country; but that it was probable, in a very short time, that he would have neither country nor subjects to command; as he could not be ignorant that there was but one opinion in the army on the war with the peasants. The Emperor, on this, sent for the Patriarch, and, urging his former reasons for a toleration, received a similar reply. But the courtiers perceiving that this would only leave matters as it found them, urged the necessity of publishing the Toleration: and in this they succeeded.

The Toleration in question contained the three following clauses:

1. The Ancient Liturgies were to be read in the churches, having first received the emendations of the Patriarch.

2. The Ancient Fasts and Festivals were to be kept; excepting Easter, and such as depended thereon.

3. The Ancient Sabbaths were to be observed.

The publication of the Indulgence gave the Patriarch great offence; who immediately wrote a very sharp letter to the Emperor, telling him, that had it been proper to publish that document, the office of so doing belonged not to the King, but to the priests; and

warning him, in conclusion, of the rashness and judgment of King Uzziah*. The King replied, with great good sense, that the Patriarch could not but be conscious that he had done every thing in his power for the establishment of popery; and that the present distressed state of his empire absolutely required that the Indulgence, to which the Patriarch had agreed, should be made known; and this, he trusted, was sufficient to convince him of the impropriety of his allusion to King Uzziah.

On the publication of the Indulgence, the Abyssinians in general expressed great satisfaction; interpreting it, as the Patriarch had supposed that they would, as extending to every article and custom of their ancient religion. The peasants of Lasta, however, seemed to be better informed on the subject; and, flushed perhaps with their late successes, determined to accept of nothing short of the entire restoration of their religion.

The Emperor, finding that the peasants were not satisfied with the late Indulgence, began to collect an army, in order to reduce them. But as this required some time, especially as he was obliged to call in his heathen neighbours, the Gallas, to his assistance, he sent Ras Cella, with a small army, to keep them in check; but the peasants, descending from their mountains, to the number of twenty thousand, put this detachment to flight, and were very near taking the Ras himself prisoner. The Emperor came up, soon after, with his forces: and as the peasants, now conscious of their strength, had posted themselves on the plains, he had no difficulty in drawing up his men in order of battle before them. After the armies had looked on each other for a short time, with a terror that may be compared to the calm that precedes an

* 2 Chron. xxvi. 16—21.

earthquake, the cavalry of the Gallas were ordered to charge the peasants; which they did with such fury, that their main body was immediately thrown into confusion. The Gallas had now nothing to do, but to follow up their success; which they did to such a degree, that the sword might be said to have been satiated with slaughter. This continued till darkness terminated the pursuit; when not fewer than eight thousand of the peasants lay dead upon the field.

The Alexandrians, on this sad catastrophe, appeared quite disconsolate; and, giving vent to their feelings, addressed the Emperor in the following pathetic appeal:—"You see, Sire, how many bodies lie here before you! Whose are these? Are they Mahomedans and Heathens? They are, to a man, Christians—your own subjects, and men endeared to us by the strongest ties of affinity and blood. Those breasts, Sire, instead of lying breathless at your feet, would, on a better policy, have been the bulwark of your empire, and the terror of the infidels by whose hands they have fallen. But the very Heathens and Mahomedans blush at our cruelties, and brand us with the appellation of murderers, and apostates from the Faith. Forbear, then, we entreat you, to persevere in a contest which must terminate in the overthrow of your religion and empire!"

To this appeal the Empress added an equally passionate remonstrance, beseeching the Emperor, as he feared God and regarded his own reputation either in this or future generations, to forbear this unparalleled and merciless destruction of his subjects, which could not but, at length, recoil on himself. "What is it," said she, "but to employ Heathens, enemies to yourself and religion, in order to establish forms of worship in

Ethiopia, of which many know nothing; and which those who do, are determined to resist to the last!"

These remonstrances, it is said, had such an effect on the mind of the Emperor, that, instead of returning to court in triumph on his victory, he returned rather to deplore the loss which he had sustained, and with a determination never again to take part in so bloody a tragedy. He accordingly summoned his Council; when it was resolved that the Abyssinians should be permitted to return to the religion of their forefathers.

The Patriarch hearing of this, hastened to court; and, on the 20th of June 1632, attended by his Jesuits, obtained an audience. He made a most passionate appeal to the feelings of the Emperor; and, in concluding his harangue, in which he was pleased to grace the Emperor's advisers with the appellation of "serpents," he prostrated himself, with his associates, conjuring his majesty, either to grant them their requests, or to behead them all instantly before him.

The Emperor, however, was not to be thus wrought upon, after the real exhibition of death and carnage on the plains of Lasta: but, ordering the Jesuits to rise, told them that he had done all in his power for the Catholic Faith in his kingdom; but, as he had now scarcely a kingdom or subjects to govern, it was in vain to expect more.

From the Emperor, the Patriarch went to the Prince, and, on a repetition of the same farce, received an equally dissatisfactory reply. He was now convinced that all was nearly lost, and that nothing short of a miracle could long keep the Faith in Ethiopia.

The next object of the Alexandrians was to get the late decree of the Council put in force. In this they

succeeded; for a report having been circulated that the ancient religion was to be restored on the day of St. John the Baptist, and great numbers flocking from all parts of the empire to witness the sight, it was represented to the Emperor, that it would be dangerous to delay the execution of the decree any longer. The Emperor hereupon sent to the Patriarch, informing him of his intention; and, recounting the great losses which the empire had sustained in the death of so many brave generals and men, requested his answer forthwith. The Patriarch replied, that the peasants of Lasta might indeed be indulged with their ancient religion, as they had taken no oaths to the contrary; but that this could not be said of his majesty and the court, who had sworn to defend the Roman Faith: besides, he clearly foresaw that the toleration of two religions in Ethiopia must eventually end in the establishment of two kingdoms and two kings.

This Gordian knot, however, was, like the more famous one of old, not solved but cut by the Emperor: and the following proclamation was immediately published, by a herald:—

“Hear! Hear!—We formerly recommended to you the Roman Faith, believing it to be true; but, as great numbers of our subjects, under the several commands of Elius, George, Cabrael, and others, have been slain on that account, we now restore to you the free exercise of the religion of your forefathers. Your priests are therefore to take possession of their churches, and to officiate in them as formerly.”

It is scarcely possible to conceive the boisterous joy with which this proclamation was received. The praises of the Emperor echoed through the camp; and bonfires, in which the beads, &c. of the Romanists had been

thrown, were seen blazing all over the country, and nothing but joy and satisfaction appeared in every countenance.

The Alexandrians followed up their success; and, shortly after, obtained another proclamation, in which every subject of the empire was commanded to embrace the Alexandrian Faith.

In the month of September 1632, the Emperor died of a hectic fever; and Basilides his son, being proclaimed Emperor in his stead, received the submission of the nobles. But Ras Cella Christos, manifesting some dissatisfaction, gave the Prince great suspicion of some plot being in existence between him and the Fathers. The Ras was therefore thrown into prison; and the Fathers deprived of their arms and ammunition, and commanded immediately to depart to Fremona. This was a fatal stroke to the Patriarch: but finding every effort that he could make with the Prince to be fruitless, he was at length compelled to set out for Fremona, where he arrived on the 24th of April 1633, having lost most of his valuables on the road, by a banditti that way-laid him for that purpose.

The Fathers had not been long at Fremona, when they found a malcontent, named O'Kay, who had formerly taken a part in the insurrection of George. To him they made their court; promising, if he could protect them but a short time, that a Portuguese army should be sent from Goa, which would at once put him in possession of the empire.

The Prince, getting intelligence of this, immediately despatched an order, commanding the Fathers forthwith to leave Ethiopia; and telling them, that he had ordered vessels to be ready for them at Massowah.

On the receipt of this order, the Fathers escaped from

Fremona; and were concealed, by their friend O'Kay, in the mountains, waiting till the Portuguese succours should arrive. The Prince, hearing of this also, sent a message to O'Kay, ordering him to deliver up the Fathers, prisoners to him. O'Kay did not think proper to comply with this request; but he determined to get rid of the Fathers as quickly as possible. The Patriarch was soon after sent to Arkeko, where, as well as at Massowah, he experienced great difficulties; but at length arriving at Suakin, he was detained, and kept as a slave for a considerable time.

The Patriarch, on leaving O'Kay, had prevailed on him to conceal four of the Fathers till the succours from Goa should arrive: but five years elapsing, and the troops failing to arrive, the Fathers were delivered up to the Prince; who, having tried and condemned them as traitors, banished them into the territories of the Agas, where they fell a sacrifice to popular fury, and were all hanged on the same tree.

The Patriarch being at length ransomed, and arriving at Goa, made every attempt in his power to get some troops despatched for Abyssinia; but, on an entire failure, was compelled to give up the case as desperate.

Thus ended a Mission, which, for the intrigue with which it was introduced into Abyssinia, the artifice and cruelty with which it was carried on, and the miserable and disgraceful termination which it received, admits of no parallel in the annals of the world. Some efforts were indeed afterward made, by the "Congregatio de Propagandâ Fide" at Rome, for establishing a Mission in Abyssinia; but the persons sent on this errand were every one murdered by the Turks, before they could arrive in that kingdom.

On the Patriarch leaving Ethiopia, one Peter Heyling, a German of the Augustan Confession, is said to have gone thither, with the new Abuna, from Egypt, and to have been extremely well received by the Emperor; but whether he died in Abyssinia, or on his way home, is, at present, uncertain.

Since this time, up to the last century, no intelligence had arrived in Europe from Ethiopia. The statements of Mr. Bruce, and others, our limits will not allow us to notice. We shall therefore conclude with an extract from Mr. Salt's Dissertation on the History of Abyssinia*.

Mr. Salt, after touching briefly on the History of Abyssinia, proceeds thus:—

“From these facts it will appear, that, although partial heresies and gradual corruptions may have crept into the Abyssinian Church, which was the natural consequence of their peculiar and isolated situation, yet they can justly claim the honour, not only of having resisted the open and formidable attacks of the Mahomedans, but likewise the more insidious attacks of the Roman Church; as also, in its earlier period, of having resisted the Arian Schism: and, like the Coptic Greeks, to whom their Church is nearly allied, may still consider themselves as adhering to the faith which they first received. At the present moment, however, the nation, with its religion, is fast verging to ruin. The Galla and Mussulman Tribes around are daily becoming more powerful; and there is reason to fear, that, in a short time, the very name of Christ may be lost among them.

“It appears to me, that these circumstances call for the serious consideration of all Christians: for when so

* Lord Valentia's Travels, Vol. III. p. 256, &c.

much trouble is taken, and so much expense incurred, in endeavouring to convert Infidels to the Faith, might it not be of equal or more consequence, to give relief to a nation already professing generally the same faith with ourselves; who, at so very early a period, received the Christian Religion, who cherished and defended it against its open and secret enemies, and who still maintain it; not pure indeed, but as their established faith.

“ And, to prove that they are a people not unworthy of our care, let us refer to what the Jesuits have said of them, at a time indeed when they were friends, but which, as Ludolf well observes, they never afterward contradicted. In a letter from Fremona, they write thus: ‘ Let it be particularly noted, that, although the Abyssinians have fallen into many and great errors concerning the Faith, yet, excepting these, it is certain that they still preserve that excellent disposition and good natural inclination to all virtue and piety which from old they have possessed; and even now, according to what the Fathers have seen, much fewer sins are found among them than in many other Christian countries in Europe where our Holy Faith remains as yet uncorrupted.’ Again: ‘ They give, with much willingness, alms to the poor, and treat strangers with hospitality.’ The Patriarch, Alphonso Mendez, also thus speaks of them; and his authority is of great weight, considering that he retained these opinions after he was expelled from the country: ‘ They are wonderfully affected toward divine matters; and have, from the time of the Apostles*, amid the darkness of the Gentiles and Ma-

* In this we believe the Patriarch to have mistaken, for reasons already assigned; but this by no means invalidates his testimony as to the character of the people.

homedans, kept alive a spark of faith, and of the Christian name. Above all things, they are inclined to reading and knowledge. As to what belongs to their disposition, I can generally say, that the more noble and cultivated among them do not yield to Europeans, and that those of the lower order far excel our common people; so that there is scarcely one among them who can be called stupid and foolish.'

"Poncet, whose fidelity as a traveller must ever rank high, bears witness to their piety, attention to the duties of their religion, and their singular moderation with regard to others differing from them in point of doctrine.

"In addition to these, my own observations tend fully to corroborate what I have here quoted. I believe them, in general, to be possessed of most excellent inclinations, with great quickness of understanding, and an anxious desire of improvement; and I am fully persuaded that there is no part of the world where European influence might be exerted with more beneficial effects than in Abyssinia."



JOURNAL
OF THE
REV. SAMUEL GOBAT.



CHAPTER I.

MR. GOBAT'S JOURNEY FROM ADIGRATE TO GONDAR—VARIOUS
RELIGIOUS CONVERSATIONS WITH HIS FELLOW-TRAVELLERS ON
THE WAY—ARRIVAL AT GONDAR.

AT eight o'clock in the morning, Feb. 25, 1830, I left Adigrate, accompanied, for about half an hour, by my Brethren Kugler and Aichinger. On parting from them, I felt for a moment, more than ever, my wretchedness and weakness. As I journeyed, I confessed my sins to God; and prayed Him to accompany me, and to preserve me from the dangers which I was about to encounter, and, above all, from sin; and to bless my journey to the salvation of some souls. Circumstances prevented my taking more than sixty copies of the Four Gospels, and some copies of the Acts, and of the Epistle to the Romans. This morning, I again waited on Sebagadis*; who gave me a recommendation, as if I were his son, to Beleta Darcopti,

* [Sebagadis was a Chief, to whom the late Mr. Salt, British Consul General in Egypt, had, when in Abyssinia more than twenty years ago, the opportunity of doing some important service. His gratitude was, ever after, evinced by his regard for the English nation.—ED.]

ambassador of Ras Mariam*, and to a servant of Oubea, Governor of Samen, with whom I was to travel. After walking for about half an hour over a plain, we took an hour and a half in ascending, and two hours in descending, the mountain of Rahi-Adem. At the foot of the mountain flows a brook, called Anader, toward the N.N.W.; but no one could inform me of its course lower down. After we had rested a little, near the water, we again walked for an hour, in order to take up our lodging at Dencanoi, a little village at the end of a valley called Besete, watered by the brook Anader, and three or four others which join it lower down. Our course was from east to west. On our arrival, I seated myself on the grass, and was soon surrounded by Beleta Darcopi's people. It being Lent, I told them, in few words, supported by passages from the Bible, that, without a change of heart, fasting would profit them nothing.

We had, at the first, intended to observe the fast with the Abyssinians; but, reflecting on all the abuses which it brings in its train, we resolved, on entering Abyssinia, neither to observe nor to condemn it; in order that we might always be able to say: "We follow the Word of God—the

* The title of Ras has been given to Mariam, on account of his father, the celebrated Ras Googsa; but there is no regular Ras in a time of peace. All the governors of the interior, beyond the River Tacazze, are dependants on Mariam, except the Governor of Semene (Samen, *see* Salt), and the King of Shoa.

Bible. Every thing that comes from men, is to be approved only so far as it is proved by the Holy Scriptures." We spoke freely on this subject to Sebagadis, who took no offence at it: on the contrary, he gave orders, that, every evening, in the villages where I might lodge, they should give me a goat or a sheep, according to my wishes.

Feb. 26, 1830—We crossed, skirting, the valley of Besete; intending to sleep at Maaya, two good leagues to the n.w. of Dencanoi, under a great tree called Daro (Amharic, *Warka*), the trunk of which is about ten feet in diameter. It is the only kind of large tree that I have seen in Tigré: the wood of it resembles the fig-tree; and its fruit is a little fig of an agreeable taste, although inferior to the common fig. A league to the n.e. of Maaya is the mountain called Debra Demoke, on the summit of which is a village inhabited by monks. It can only be ascended by means of a rope; and they say that no woman is allowed to go up.

Feb. 27—Yesterday evening the people brought us two tents, one for Beleta Darcopti and one for me, with two beds. All our Abyssinians were very merry, by the side of a quantity of good wine or mead which had been brought us.

To-day, we journeyed about three leagues of the road, toward the west. Arrived, for our night's lodging, at Antitcho-Daga-Soni, where there is a market every Monday. Antitcho is a vast district,

under the Fit-Aurari*, Guebra Amlac, brother of Sebagadis. He has, as it seems to me, the air of being a very inferior character to his brother; but he is a good warrior. On our arrival, I saw a man mercilessly beating a boy of thirteen or fourteen years old, who came with us from Adigrate, without his giving any offence at the time. I asked what was the cause of such treatment; and the reply was, that the boy had been servant to the other; that he had left him by permission; but that he had entered into the service of another master, the enemy of the first†. I related the affair to the Fit-Aurari, who at first flew into a great rage with the man who had beaten the boy. He afterward asked me if the boy was in my service; and on my replying in the negative, he told me that he could not punish for such offences, or he should have the people coming and stunning him with complaints, whether just or false. "How!" I said; "you a judge, and permit

* Fit-Aurari signifies "guide;" but only the guide of a troop who go out to pillage a place. During the campaign, the Fit-Aurari always marches at a greater or less distance before the body of the army, and always encamps between the enemy and his own master.

† The Abyssinian servants are very free in some respects, but slaves in others: for when a servant wishes to quit his master in consequence of bad treatment, if the master be ever so little friendly with a great man, they compel the servant to stay, even without a salary. If it happens that a servant quits his master for a while, in spite of him, and enters the service of another, without permission being asked of the former master, the masters infallibly become enemies.

a man to maim a child who has done him no harm!" "Well," he replied, "propose any punishment, and I will do what you wish."—"No," I said to him; "I am not come into your country to act the legislator; but I desire to know how you judge." Nothing was decided. This district is known throughout Abyssinia for the wickedness of its inhabitants.

Feb. 28, 1830—We made about four leagues toward the w.s.w. Arrived, to take up our lodging, at Hassai; where we were well received at the house of the governor of the district, Guebra Amlac, formerly Fit-Aurari.

March 1—Journeyed about three leagues w. s. w. At noon, arrived at Adowah; where Mrs. Coffin immediately came to see me, with her children, to inquire news concerning her husband. I had, afterward, a visit from two Greeks and two Armenians; but all without particular interest.

March 2—All the day, visits of compliment, without interest.

March 3—I had a long conversation with a monk of Walcait, in the presence of many persons; but they were not all of them able to understand Amharic. I began by asking him why the Abyssinians are so scrupulous in the observance of fasting, &c., which is not commanded in the Word of God; while they are not at all scrupulous about transgressing the commandments of the Lord. *Monk*: "You see, that, in your country, God has given you the light of the knowledge of

Him; and you are disposed to do good and to avoid evil. It is not so with us: we are very wicked. When we see a man who does not please us, we could wish to kill him: when we see an object which pleases us, we long to steal it: we are liars, &c. This is why we find fasting necessary, in order to mortify our bodies. You have no need of it." *Missionary*: "That is precisely your error. You wish to be justified before God by your fasts, and a few works which you call good; and yet desire to live, on the whole, in sin. This is not the doctrine of the Gospel; which tells us, that the sinner is justified only by faith in Jesus—that faith, by which we are justified, is inseparable from love toward the Saviour—and that love constrains us to obey the commandments of God." *Monk*: "Yes; but all our people are plunged in ignorance: they know not the Gospel." *Missionary*: "That is what I have to deplore, everywhere: but it is your priests and monks who are the cause of it. Why do you not instruct the people?" *Monk*: "You are right; but we have not the necessary means of instruction. A long time ago, I heard that the Gospel might be procured in Amharic. I have travelled throughout Abyssinia, have come to Tigré for the express purpose of procuring a copy; and I had given up all hope of finding it, and was returning, quite downcast, on my way home, when I found you the other day at Maaya. Now that you have given me the Gospel, I am going to Walcait to study it; first for myself,

and then I shall devote my life to the instruction of children. Write your name in it, that you may be beloved in Abyssinia. When it shall be known in my country that they can have the Gospel in Tigré, people will come in crowds to procure it." *Missionary*: "I give you the Gospel, on condition that you will teach nothing to children but the Word of God." *Monk*: "I promise you so to do."—I have conceived a strong friendship for this young man. He has every appearance of sincerity.

March 5, 1830—Visited Warka, the son of an Armenian, but born in Abyssinia. He shut himself up in the room with me, to eat out of season. I took occasion to speak to him on the fear of man, which exists only where there is an evil conscience and a want of the fear of God. I afterward showed him the error and danger there is in seeking justification in fasting, &c.; showing him the way of justification by faith, from the clearest passages of Scripture. He appeared affected; and, like other Abyssinians, he assented to every thing without being thoroughly persuaded, for want of knowledge.

March 6—The pilgrim, Heila Michael, who came with us from Egypt, being seated by my side, suddenly fell to weeping and confessing his misery; saying, that he had not passed one day in his life without doing evil; and yet, for all that, God had not ceased to load him with benefits. He nearly learned the Four Gospels by heart while he was at Jerusalem.

March 7, 1830: Sunday—To-day I have been left alone for a considerable time. It is more than six months since I have been in a house alone. I had many thoughts of my friends in Europe, who assemble together for prayer, and to bless the Lord and meditate on His Word. May my God deign always to be in the midst of them, to bless them! A young man of Gojam begged me with so much earnestness, to give him a copy of the Gospel, that I could not resist, notwithstanding my intention not to distribute it at present in Tigré. In the afternoon I spoke to Heila Michael, in the presence of many persons, on the use which we ought to make of the history of saints; namely, to imitate them, not to adore them.

March 8—At nine o'clock in the morning left Adowah for Axum, where we arrived at two P.M. We all wished to go to see the church; but were not at that time permitted to enter. Afterward we were summoned to dinner. I had hoped that we should remain a day at Axum; but this evening, very late, I learned that Beleta Darcopti did not wish to stay. We were at first very coldly received; but subsequently the Governor of the city, Walda Michael Nebrid, comported himself extremely well. He promised me, that, if I should come again, he would let me see all that is to be seen at Axum. He pretends that there is much gold concealed at Axum; among the rest, nine sacks-full in the pillar described by Mr. Salt. I took the opportunity of speaking to him on the

vanity of earthly things, in comparison with the vital knowledge of Christ and the eternal blessings which He has promised to those who love Him. This was in the presence of about forty persons.

March 9—I thought I should see something of the ruins of Axum this morning, before leaving it; but, at the time when I wished to go out, a dispute arose between my baggage-carriers and my servants, which lasted till the moment of departure. Axum is finely situated, at the foot of two mountains, round which is a vast fertile plain. After quitting Axum, we walked an hour and a half in the cultivated plain; then another hour and a half among bushes and stones; after which we rested under a tree near the village of Segamo. Thence our route was along a plain, for about two hours, to Ado-Watsa, where we lodged this evening. Ado-Watsa is about five leagues s. w. of Axum. The Governor, Melcou, was not in the house; for which reason we were not very well received. We were not able to obtain supper till the night was far advanced, although we had taken nothing since yesterday.

March 10—We had a little rain in the night; which made us fear for our baggage, because we were lodged in a stable without roof. We had a little rain once at Adigrate, and once at Adowah. It is thus that the rainy season shows its coming, by thunder and lightning and slight showers; which are always more frequent after the month of February. For four hours we were

crossing a district which appears capable of fertility; but it is abandoned, and filled with thorns and thistles. Afterward, walked for two hours on a tract of ground prepared for culture; grass and bushes having been burned on it. We came to Tembera, to sleep at the house of the Fit-Aurari, Walda Kidam, who has all the air of a proud warrior. His district, which is considerable, on the borders of the Tacazze, is called Adiete. Tembera is about five leagues to the south of Ado-Watsa. During the evening I was a little indisposed: they therefore complained of my silence; to which I replied, that where there are many words there are commonly many sins. This could not be very pleasing to the Fit-Aurari, who is a great talker, especially when the subject is, boasting of himself.

March 11, 1830 — While I was writing, this morning, among the bushes, my people, thinking I was before them, all set off. In descending the mountain on which the village of Tembera is situated, I was accompanied by a party of boys, who begged me to look upon them as my children, and to bless them*. For three hours we walked

* The Abyssinian children have always a great respect for all persons, especially for strangers. They are, in general, better than those of all other countries that I have travelled in. The boys do not begin to be wicked, till they are led to believe that they are men grown; nor the young females and women, till they find themselves neglected or ill-treated by their husbands.

among mountains of a very wild aspect; and arrived, to pass the night, at Emferas, in a valley in the midst of the mountains, where the heat was the more insupportable from our having suffered great cold, during the preceding night, upon the mountain. This evening a messenger came from Oubea, who refuses to accept of peace on the conditions proposed by Sebagadis.

March 12 — Descended a high mountain, as far as to the Tacazze, which we crossed about two gun-shots below the mouth of the Ataba, a river which has its source in the mountain of Bonahed. The Tacazze, at present, is a good stone's-throw broad: the water, in the middle, is knee-deep: it is full of hippopotamuses and crocodiles. Afterward, we ascended a high and very craggy mountain, where the road is very bad: however, my mule happily bore me to the top. One of my feet being bad, I was unable to walk. All my travelling companions were obliged to ascend on foot, their mules being no longer able to carry them. While ascending, our people often alluded to the word "Tacazze," which signifies, in the Tigré dialect, "I am sad—downcast." We took up our lodging at the top of the mountain; where the people of the neighbourhood made a hut for us with branches of trees, near the village of Toursoga. When we arrived, we received orders from Oubea to remain two days at Toursoga, to wait for news from the interior.

March 13—I have been employed almost all

day in reading the Gospel with a priest of our company, named Hiskias, in the presence of many persons; and making needful remarks. I felt it my duty to let them all see the ignorance of the priest. I afterward said to him: "How is it possible that you can be a priest, without knowing the Gospel?" To which one of the by-standers replied, that this sort of priests give money to the Abuna to lay his hands upon them.—There were others very attentive, from other districts.

March 14, 1830: Sunday—We had much rain, during the first part of last night, in our roofless hut. I placed under me the little linen that I had; and wrapped myself up in my carpet, that I might be in the dry after the rain. Our poor people were very wet, and it was very cold during the rest of the night; but in their own country the Abyssinians endure the cold in an extraordinary manner. They often sleep entirely naked, except a little rag over the shoulders, on the grass, when quite whitened with frost. I read, this morning, the two Epistles to Timothy, in Greek, wrapped in my cloak on account of the cold; which was felt so much more, because yesterday, in the valley of Tacazze, the heat was almost insupportable. At noon, the priest, Hiskias, brought me a little book of Prayers, in Ethiopic. I read several pages of it; observing, in the presence of the whole company, what parts of it were of the Word of God, and what was of men. I then returned the book to him; saying, that it was good for nothing.

I afterward exhorted him to reject human doctrines, and to cleave with all his heart to the Word of God, which is alone a sure and sufficient guide in the way of salvation. On saying this, I gave him the Seventh Chapter of St. Mark to read. As he read very badly, the by-standers begged me to read them some chapters; which I did with pleasure, accompanying the reading with such remarks as I thought necessary, till a heavy rain came, about three o'clock in the afternoon, which wetted us all. Many young people of the company begged me to instruct them. I pray that they may listen to the Father, and come to Jesus, and thus be of the number of those who are taught of God.

March 15—Before leaving this morning, some more priests came to ask for the Gospel; but, hitherto, I had not given any away, having but a few copies for the interior. I refer the people to Brother Kugler, in Tigré.—Our course was to the s. w. A good league from Toursoga is a pretty considerable village, named Walia, in the valley on our left. We afterward crossed a mountain, and entered into the deep valley of the Ataba. Passed by the side of the village of Querbera, in the valley, about a league s. w. of Walia. A short league to the south of Querbera is the fort or rock of Sequenquena. From Querbera, turning a little toward the west, we made another league to Chinaco; where we lodged under a tree, by the side of a fountain.

Beleta Darcopti's people complained to me of the difficulty of keeping the fast while travelling. I thence took occasion to give them a serious exhortation on their being so strict in observing the commandments of men, while they lay aside the commandments of God. Then, turning myself to the whole company, I said to them: "I see you all very strict in observing the fast, whilst I know your evil thoughts, and hear your oaths *, and all your, at least, useless words: in short, I see all your conduct contrary to the commandments of God. Does not all this prove that you are in error, and in the road to perdition, as well as your priests?" They all replied together: "Yes, you are right."—I become the more free with them, because I often hear them say one to another that they have never seen so good a man. I do not value much the opinion they have of me; I know the evil of my heart; but I endeavour to turn this opinion to advantage, for their good.

March 16, 1830—We travelled about two leagues along the Ataba, in a s. w. direction, having to rest under a little tree, by the side of the river, near the village of Ataba. After we had rested a little, the priest, Hiskias, begged the Gospel of me for a moment. I gave him the Eighteenth Chapter of St. Luke to read; telling him first to read it for himself,

* The Abyssinians swear much. In Amharic, they say every moment—May such a Superior die!—or, "May you die!" In Tigré they say, "By your body!" or, "By the body of a Superior!"

and afterward to give me an account of its contents. After a sufficient space of time, he came to tell me that he had read it; but when he began to relate the contents of it, he said things quite different from it. I then took the book, and read the same chapter in the presence of five or six of our people, who were not a little astonished to perceive that the priest had said just the contrary. Afterward, I gave him the Fifteenth Chapter of St. Luke; but he did not understand that any better. I then related its contents to those who were present, with short observations; and, without perceiving it while speaking, I found, when I had done, that nearly all our company had gathered round me. Some seemed very much affected at the love of God for sinners, as exemplified in the story of the Prodigal Son. After that, the priest again wished to read; but the others took the book from him, saying that he could not understand it. They then begged me to read to them a little more; which I did with pleasure, till a heavy rain came, and obliged us to shut the book. The priest, to whom I spoke frankly, appeared, nevertheless, to be attached to me.

March 17—Advanced about two leagues, as far as to Ebena; where we rested a little. Afterward went another good league, as far as to Dongosga: course s.w. The district from the Tacazze is called Telemte. Here begins Samen. At Ebena, the Ataba divides itself into two branches; one

coming from the south, the other from the s. w. On the road, a question arose as to the authority of the priests to bind and to loose; but when I saw that our priest, Hiskias, and others, were annoyed, I kept silence, knowing that the servant of God ought not to love disputing. On our arrival at Dongosga, the women of the village came to meet us, to say how wrong it was for us to come and lodge in their poor village; but a friend of Beleta Darcopti sent us some good teff-bread from Ebena.—I and my people lodge in a circular house, ten feet in diameter.

March 18, 1830—Ascended the high mountain of Silqui. It took us four good hours to reach the top. Its highest peak is covered with snow; but we did not ascend so high. At the distance of a league west of Mount Silqui is the great village of Sona, where the Governors of Samen often have their residence. From the height, there is one of the most picturesque views that I have hitherto seen. A full league to the w. s. w. of Sona is the mountain of Toloca. My travelling companions told me that it was formerly in the hands of Falashas or Jews; but they knew no more concerning them. Situate among many peaks of this mountain is the village of Haouasa, inhabited by Mussulmans, descendants, partly, of Jews. Between Silqui and Toloca flows a rivulet called Bouga; and beyond Toloca, another, called Antsia; both of which empty themselves into the Tacazze. My people took me to see Waldeba, a

celebrated monastery, or rather a district inhabited by monks and nuns, who are not of the best repute, even in Abyssinia. It is reported that there are many among them who never eat bread or meat. Further to the n. w. the view is lost in the little mountains of Walcaït. Till we came to the mountain, our course was toward the s. s. w. ; then, turning toward the south, we passed along the side of the mountain, about eight hundred feet below its summit, for two full hours : we then descended a little, to sleep at the village of Lori. The moment of our arrival, before we obtained a lodging, we were surprised by a heavy shower of very cold rain. About four hundred feet higher than where we were, there fell snow. We were, so to speak, heaped one upon another, in a little hut, until we could obtain a lodging. We were afterward a little uneasy about our baggage-carriers, who were slow in arriving, the road being infinitely worse than any that I have hitherto seen : however, they arrived, without any other misfortune than that of being quite wet, and harassed with fatigue. At Lori, it seemed as if we were on one of the mountains of Switzerland, in spring or autumn time ; and, notwithstanding the cold, the inhabitants have only very small houses, full of holes ; because no wood grows near the summit of the mountain ; and for clothes and covering at night, they have only a small piece of linen-cloth, and a sheep's skin on their shoulders.

March 19—Again ascended a very steep moun-

tain, for two hours toward the south, till we came under Mount Bouahed, the summit of which is almost always covered with snow. (A few miles s. s. e. of Mount Bouahed, is the village or fort of Amba-Hai, which may perhaps be considered the highest mountain in Abyssinia.) Thence, bearing a little to the west, we again walked three leagues on the mountain of Aina, as far as Ambaras, where they would not at first receive us. We were very long seated in the cold, near the village, till rain with snow began to fall. I then suddenly rose up to go toward my mule, as though I would go further; which so alarmed the inhabitants of the village, that they unanimously begged me to accept the first house. Beleta Darcopti went to lodge in another village. The people of the villages on this route have no order to receive us; because we ought to have taken another route from Lori, to go to Antchatcab, the residence of Oubea; but having heard that Oubea was on an expedition against Mariam, we had taken the shortest road to Gondar. Beleta Darcopti much fears that Oubea will stop him, to take from him the three hundred dollars which Sebagadis had given him. He had been sent, by Mariam, to Sebagadis and Oubea, to ask for peace; but while he was treating with Sebagadis, his master offended Oubea; on which Oubea instantly set off against him, without hearing the propositions of peace. People wished also, in every quarter, to alarm me, in order to hinder me from going to

Gondar ; but I see no sufficient reason for changing my plan. Every day since I passed the Taczze, I have remarked that there is always the same kind of weather on these mountains of Samen. In the morning, it is fine, the sky is clear, and the sun burning till near eleven o'clock ; then the sky begins to be clouded, a fresh breeze rises ; about one P. M. you begin to hear some claps of thunder, and toward four o'clock rain falls, accompanied with wind, till sunset.

March 20, 1830—Our host, who at first would not receive us, has behaved very well toward us ; as also his wife. This morning he accompanied us for about half an hour, to show us the road ; which we should not have been able to find before day. We rose in good time this morning, hoping to go further than usual ; because Beleta Darcopti is urged on by fear. Before the dawn the cold was supportable ; but from day-break to the rising of the sun, it was so sharp, that we were unable any longer to hold the bridle of our beasts, even with our hands wrapped up in two or three folds of our clothes. We made about three leagues toward the s.w., to Sancaber ; where we were stopped by the soldiers of Oubea, till they should receive orders from Antchatcab, whither we subsequently sent an express. Sancaber is an assemblage of about thirty little huts, inhabited by soldiers. It is a fortress ; that is, consisting of a narrow pass between two abysses of prodigious depth, which emit a degree of cold almost insupportable. They

gave me the largest hut; where I read the 11th and 17th chapters of St. John to my fellow-travelers, until, during the rain, the wind carried away half the roof of my hut. I was compelled to change my lodging, and establish myself in a circular hut seven feet in diameter and six feet high. Just on our arrival, I had given a little pepper, some needles, &c. to my people, to seek for victuals at two distant places. A little before sunset, they returned with a bag of barley-bread, a little roasted grain, and a pitcher of beer; of which we partook in a brotherly manner. In these mountains of Samen they only eat, usually, bread made of barley or beans. There is no teff, and very little corn.

March 21, 1830—Last night, all the country was illuminated by the fires burning on the mountains below us. As the rainy season approaches, they now set fire to the dry grass which has remained from the last year. The appearance of the fields is not agreeable at this season; for you see either the dry grass which is not yet burned, or whole districts, where it is burned, as black as charcoal. I passed the forenoon alone, in reading the Gospel in Greek. This morning I had sent two men with needles to seek for victuals; but at noon our messenger returned from Antchatcab, and we set off, forthwith, fasting. Went about two leagues to the s.w., to Belliguebs. The people of this poor village only gave us a little barley-bread; which we shared with our beasts, to whom they had given nothing. Having had nothing for the last

two days but a little piece of barley-bread each, we should have suffered a little from hunger, if a priest of the village had not given us a fine young she-goat for a copy of the Gospel. There is nothing to be bought here.

March 22—Journeyed about two leagues to the s.w., to Couâra; where we reposed awhile, till the arrival of our victuallers of yesterday, who brought a little barley-bread and beer, which the young people of Beleta Darcopti partook of with mine. On rising to go further, we received orders from Oubea not to advance any further, till his return. They made us return a league, almost by the same road, to come and lodge at Faras Sabar (or, Kedous Georgis Faras Sabar; *i. e.* "Saint George the horse is broken," or, "he has broken the horse"). Formerly, this village had another name; but in time past, it is not known when, an officer wishing to enter it with his soldiers, to pillage it, his horse fell and was broken (the word is not certain); which the officer attributed to St. George, the patron of the place. He came afterward, on foot, to beg the saint to restore his horse, promising to give him its worth in money. He then returned to his horse; and was not a little surprised to find it quite restored, and still more to find it white, whereas before it was brown. He performed his vow; and since then the village has received the name of Faras Sabar. This story, which no one calls in question, is very profitable to the people of the village; for the Abyssinians believe,

that whoever shall be hardy enough to wish to enter the village by force, or even on horseback, will at least suffer in the same way; for which reason the governors never quarter soldiers there. In war-time, the people of the neighbourhood take refuge there with their property, which makes this village one of the most opulent in the country. We remained sitting for some hours beside the church, and at length they sent us back to another village. While we were sitting, some priests, and many others, came near me. I endeavoured to make them feel the necessity that every one, who desires to be saved, should be acquainted with the Bible, and keep to the Word of God. A priest afterward asked me, "What is your faith?" *Missionary*: "We believe all that the Word of God says: nothing beyond that." *Priest*: "What do you say to the Alexandrian Faith?" *Missionary*: "Is there one faith for Alexandria, and another for another country?" *Priest*: "There is the faith of the Greeks, that of the Franks, that of the Armenians, &c. Of which faith are you?" *Missionary*: "All these different names of creeds have nothing to do with the True Faith; these divisions prove rather the unbelief and disobedience of men. It is because they have abandoned the Word of God, to follow the doctrines of men, that they are thus divided. St. Paul says, that there is but one faith; and Jesus Christ, in His prayer, asks that all may be one, being sanctified by the Truth, which is the

Word of God." *Priest*: "Arius and his followers say, that they follow the Gospel; and yet they say that Jesus Christ is a creature. What is your opinion upon that?" *Missionary*: "Arius says so, because, while he professes to follow the Gospel, he rejects a part of it. St. Paul says to the Romans, that He is *God over all, blessed for ever*. To the Philippians, and the Hebrews, he says, that all things were created by Jesus Christ, and that He upholds the world by His word. And St. John says, that He is *the true God, and eternal life*." *Priest*: "There are some who say, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. We say, that He proceeds only from the Father. What say you?" *Missionary*: "Jesus says, in St. John, *I will send you the Holy Spirit, which proceedeth from the Father*." *Priest*: "There are some who say, that the Divinity of Jesus Christ was not united to His humanity till he was anointed by the Holy Spirit, and that afterward it was sometimes God and sometimes Man that acted in Him." *Missionary* (knowing that this point is often the cause of their disputes): "This is all foreign to the Gospel: it is meddling, through pride, with things which we do not understand, and which we have not seen; as says St. Paul, Col. ii. It is sufficient for us to know that Jesus Christ is God Almighty, and that He became truly man, *a man of sorrows, to save us; for we have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of sins*. If we were continually to contemplate this exceeding love of God

for us, we should love Him, and live together as brethren, without wrath and disputing." After this, one of the priests asked me for the Gospel; and, as this Church is one of the most famous in Abyssinia, I left a copy there gratis, and we parted friends. We afterward came to sleep at Debâree, half a league to the west of Faras Sabar. On our arrival, I learned that Oubea had given orders to detain Beleta Darcopti in the neighbourhood of Debâree, until his return; but he sent a man for me, to accompany me to Gondar.

March 23, 1830—I passed the forenoon alone, reading the Bible. I expect to set out with the Gondar caravan in two days. This evening I came to sleep at Amberco, on a mountain a full league to the north of Debâree, and about one league to the east of Mount Lamalemon. We were here better received than elsewhere. This village being distant from the road, the people are hospitable to strangers.

March 24—Returned to Debâree, where I had left my baggage, to lodge in a house close by the market. I was surprised on the road by a heavy shower, accompanied by some large hailstones. At first, I found shelter in a small house full of people; but my servants were beaten by the hail. Near the market I found a man lying on the ground, whose leg had just been cut off, because he had revolted against Oubea. On entering the house where I lodged, I found an old woman chained to a man who had killed her brother. A little after, they

let the woman go; and chained the murderer to a young boy, a relation of the person who had been killed. The murderer is from Walcait. The man whom he has killed had been a priest; but he renounced his vocation, in order to live more freely in licentiousness. This man, having a deadly enmity against him, and finding him one day alone in the fields, killed him. There was no witness; but the relations of the deceased seized the murderer, knowing the enmity which there was between them. They wished, at first, to kill him, according to the custom of the country; for the law of retaliation exists in all its force throughout Abyssinia; but the murderer found means to escape, and fled to Oubea, to relate to him the whole story. Oubea sent for the relations of him who was killed; and exhorted them to be satisfied, by making the murderer pay whatever sum they might demand. He has been condemned to pay twenty okiets, or two hundred dollars; and now he takes his station in the market, asking charity, till he has wherewith to pay. From morning to night he is heard crying, "Yanafsi! Yanafsi!" ("For my life! For my life!") When a murderer is brought before a Governor, the Governor cannot pronounce judgment; but always exhorts the relations of the slain persons to be reconciled, and to commute the life of the murderer for a certain sum of money: he never can compel them to it. If the murderer is a thief the Governor himself condemns him to death.

The market of Debâree is one of the greatest markets in Abyssinia: it is held on a Wednesday; and every week a caravan from Gondar comes to it, composed of from twelve to fifteen hundred persons, to procure salt, which is their principal barter for cattle and cloth. At present, the dollar is worth twenty-seven pieces of salt, of about ten inches long, two broad, and one thick. At Gondar it is worth twenty-two, but often not more than fifteen. This market brings in three thousand dollars yearly to the Governor of Samen: and the Negad-Ras, or Head of the Customs, puts no less in his pocket; but they cry out against him as a tyrant. He is a Mussulman.

March 25, 1830 — Set out with the caravan for Gondar. Our road lay through a plain, watered by many rivulets. I saw but a single village to our left, called Arona, at about three leagues s. s. w. of Debâree. Afterward, crossed several hills; and saw the ruins of several villages, desolated by the Ras Googsa, about twenty-five years ago. From Arona we made again about four leagues to Tchambelga, where I lodged under a leafless tree. From Debâree are seen the trees which surround the church of Tchambelga, which Bruce took for cedars, and Salt (at Taranta) for firs; but they resemble neither the cedars of Lebanon nor the firs of Europe: it is rather a mixture of both, with thorns even more tender than those of the cedar; but its fruit resembles altogether the fruit of the juniper-tree: it is almost the only wood for

building that there is in Abyssinia. On the road, they wanted, by force, to make me Abuna: the people came in a crowd to prostrate themselves before me, to ask absolution for their sins: but when I saw them, I felt as if my heart would turn to ashes. Were there no other obstacle to such a promotion, I could not bear the adorations which they pay to a Bishop in Abyssinia and throughout the Levant.

March 26—Yesterday, at nightfall, I was seized, on a sudden, with such a shivering, that I could not stand. I betook myself to bed; and the cold was at first followed by a burning heat of fever. I drank three large glasses of water, and then fell asleep; but in an instant after I was waked by a heavy rain, which penetrated all my clothes: the water, which trickled through the grass, had already soaked through my carpet beneath, and the rain was incessant. I offered to give a dollar for a house for the night; but none was to be found. I committed myself to the goodness of the Lord, and laid myself down again, with my linen completely wet. Shortly after midnight, the rain ceased; my linen absorbed the heat of my body; and I got a good rest, till the moment of departure, at day-break. We were unable to buy any thing at Tchambelga, except a little beer: and, as I had only eaten, yesterday morning, a little barley-bread, with garlic, my people had, in the evening, left a piece of bread for me. To-day, after having walked for about two hours, I partook of it with my people; but we had not so

much as an ounce each, to support us for the whole day. We went about five leagues, on a plain, without seeing a single village. There has almost always been war between the House of Googsa and that of the Governors of Samen, during more than thirty years: on this account, this district remains entirely uncultivated. Afterward we crossed several hills and mountains, during four hours, till we reached Gondar; which, at a distance, more resembles a forest than a city, on account of the quantity of trees which surround the forty-four churches of Gondar. Before entering the city, we learned that the house of Tchelolargai, to whom I had been recommended by Sebagadis, was burnt. I therefore took up my lodging in the house of Emmaha, the guide whom Sebagadis had given me: but they did not expect us, on which account there was nothing in the house to satisfy our hunger and thirst. But the wife of Emmaha, forthwith, found some good bread and beer: and when she learned that I did not drink beer, she immediately took a servant with her to buy some wine or mead in the market; but, as they were returning, some persons had taken from them both the mead and their clothes. She received several blows, in defending herself; and yet, on her entering the house, she expressed neither pain nor regret.—Oubea is encamped on a mountain near Gondar.

CHAPTER II.

INTERVIEW WITH OUBEA—MR. GOBAT DETERMINES TO REMAIN AT GONDAR—IS PLACED BY OUBEA UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE ETCHEGUA, HEAD OF THE MONKS—CONVERSATIONS WITH ALACA WALDAB, HABETA SELASSE, AND OTHER ECCLESIASTICS (THROUGHOUT THE CHAPTER)—VISIT TO THE KING, JOAS—TROUBLES AT THE CUSTOM-HOUSE—VISIT TO CANTIBA CASSAI, GOVERNOR OF GONDAR, AND TO THE DAUGHTER OF RAS GOOGSA—AT EASTER, VISITS THE ETCHEGUA OR HEAD OF THE MONKS—CONVERSATION WITH HIM UPON DOCTRINAL SUBJECTS—CONVERSATIONS WITH VARIOUS PRIESTS, AND REMARKS UPON THEIR CHARACTER—SENT FOR BY OZORO WALETA TECLIT, TO CURE THE MADNESS OF HER BROTHER—DISTURBANCES IN THE CITY—HABETA SELASSE PROPOSES A MISSION TO THE GALLAS—BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE FALASHAS—COPIES OF THE AMHARIC GOSPEL DISTRIBUTED—VISIT TO A VILLAGE OF THE FALASHAS—GREAT DISTURBANCES IN THE CITY—SUPERSTITIOUS OPINIONS CONCERNING SORCERY—INCREASING INTERCOURSE WITH THE PRIESTS AND THE LAITY—MUCH SOUGHT TO, FOR THE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE—CONVERSATION WITH THE ETCHEGUA, AND ANOTHER PRIEST HIGH IN AUTHORITY, EXPRESSLY UPON RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS—DEATH OF THE KING'S WIFE—DISCUSSIONS ON ORIGINAL SIN—VISITED BY A JEWESS, A SORCERESS—BARBAROUS TREATMENT OF A THIEF—ATTACKED BY A SEVERE FEVER—REASONS FOR NOT FASTING DURING HIS ILLNESS—RECEIVES NUMEROUS VISITS AFTERWARD—SCHISM IN DIFFERENT PROVINCES OF ABYSSINIA CONCERNING THE NATURE OF JESUS CHRIST—CHANGE OF THE ETCHEGUA—PREPARES TO RETURN TO TIGRÉ—REVIEW OF HIS STAY IN GONDAR.

On the morning of March 27, 1830, at day-break, I learned that Oubea was on the point of setting off for Samen, with his army; and I, consequently,

went to meet him on the road. I found myself in company with six or seven priests, who had come also to salute him, with crosses and other ecclesiastical ornaments. I thought it right for me to hang back a little in the rear, till he should have done with the priests; but when he perceived me, he came out of the road, to alight from his mule to meet me. The priests at once began to compliment him with wishes for his prosperity. He listened to them for about three minutes, then bade them wait, and made me sit by his side. I offered him a copy of the Four Gospels, in the presence of all his officers. He no sooner saw it, than he began to examine it; and then told me that he accepted it with the greatest pleasure. "But why," he then said to me, "do you come into this bad country in such a time of war and trouble as this?" To which I replied, that I did not know the actual state of Gondar, when I left Tigré: "besides, I fear God: and I know that in the midst of troubles and wars the Lord reigneth, to protect those who call upon Him." He then suddenly turned to his officers, and said to them: "See here a true White Man; yes, he is the very root of the Whites: we have never before seen his like. But how could Sebagadis let a man like this come into the disturbances of this country?" I asked him for a man to remain with me at Gondar, and afterward to accompany me to him on my return. To which he replied, with tears in his eyes: "I will willingly give you one; but

when I shall be gone, they will kill him at Gondar, and you will suffer in consequence: rather return with me. If you cannot come to-day, I will wait here for you till to-morrow." I told him, that, as I only came yesterday evening, I could not return so soon. On which he called the priests, and said to them, "I commit this stranger to your protection: take care that no harm happens to him! Conduct him to the Etchegua*. If any thing evil happens to him, I will certainly require it at your hands." On that, we parted.

Oubea is a young man of thirty-one years of age, short in stature, of an agreeable countenance, with very lively eyes, and usually a smile on his lips; his black hair arranged in tresses, after the fashion of the country, and falling on his shoulders; and dressed in white, without any mark of superiority. He is less superstitious, and consequently less under the influence of the priests, than Sebagadis. I shall still endeavour to stay some days with him. His disorderly army may consist of about from three to four thousand men.

On re-entering the city, I went to the house of Tchelolargai, who received me as he would have received Sebagadis. He is one of the richest merchants of Abyssinia. While I was at his house, one messenger after another came to say that all the city was in an uproar; the market full of thieves. Oubea's soldiers were going and

* The chief of all the monks of the country, and almost the only one who has, at present, any authority at Gondar.

coming through the city, as if there had been war. Oubea himself remains at a short distance from the city. He has a grudge against the priests and the Etchegua, which still more increases the fear of the people. The reason of it is, that Oubea had married the daughter of the deceased Governor Marou: she is now dead; but he has children by her. When Marou died, his sister took all his property, and fled to the quarters of the Etchegua, where she remains at present*. Oubea now has a quarrel with the priests: it is from them that he demands what belongs to him; because it is in their power to compel the restitution of it; and if they do not give it to him in a certain space of time, he threatens to plunder the city. While I was with Tchelolargai, they removed my effects into a church, and prepared me a house near that of the Etchegua. The family of Emmaha have come to lodge with me, till fresh orders arrive.

March 28, 1830—This morning I had a visit from one of the disciples of Alaca Waldab, called Habeta Selasse. He is one of the most interesting Abyssinians that I have seen: he is from Marfoud in Shoa. I had a long conversation with him on Synods. He asked me what we think of

* The Etchegua's quarter is always in safety, in the midst of the greatest troubles: no Governor dares enter it by force; otherwise Oubea would already have had his wife's fortune, and, without doubt, that of some of his enemies who have taken refuge under this protection.

synods. *Missionary*: "The Word of God is the only rule of our faith: we believe all that it contains; and we keep to that, knowing that it is sufficient *to make us wise unto salvation*. We read the writings of synods, but we do not draw proofs from them: we compare them with the Bible: if they are conformed to the Bible, we receive them; if not, we reject them." *Habeta Selasse*: "Have you a book called *Kidam Mariam*?" *Missionary*: "I have seen it: but we do not receive it, because we have no proof of its being inspired: on the contrary, not to speak of its contents, we know that it was written some centuries after the death of Mary." *Habeta Selasse*: "But it was St. Ephraim that wrote it." *Missionary*: "Whether Ephraim was a saint or not, I know not. I believe that he had some good in him; but he is one of those who meddle with things which they have not seen, and affirm that which they know not. It was probably his writings that gave rise to the *Korân* of the Mussulmans; at least, Mahomed makes pretty free use of them, to seduce his disciples." *Habeta Selasse*: "Why are there such differences of faiths and sects among Christians?" *Missionary*: "It is because they neglect the Word of God, to follow the doctrines of men, who are always liable to error. Jesus Christ wills that all should be one in Him: and St. Paul says, that there is but one faith, and but one Spirit given to believers; that this Spirit should dwell in the hearts of Christians, without which

they do not belong to Christ. Now, where there is the Spirit of Christ, there is union of heart and feeling; as He Himself says: *By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.* All these divisions prove to us, therefore, that there are very few true Christians in the world; for which reason we should take care not to content ourselves with the name of Christian, unless we are persuaded that Jesus Christ dwells in our hearts by His Spirit: then, notwithstanding differences in external forms, we shall be truly brethren; and we shall love one another, *as Christ hath loved us.*"

This afternoon, Habeta Selasse again came to see me, with one of his fellow-disciples. He asked me several questions about Adam; such as, "When did he receive the Holy Spirit? How long did he remain in Paradise?" &c. My answers to such questions are, always, "I know nothing about it; the Bible says nothing upon it, and we have no other means of knowing." Afterward he asked me what I thought of the case of children who die without being baptized. *Missionary*: "I know nothing about it: it has not pleased God to reveal it to us; but, according to this passage, *Of such is the kingdom of heaven*, I am disposed to believe that children who die without baptism are also saved." *Habeta Selasse*: "How are they saved, since infants receive the Holy Spirit only in baptism?" *Missionary*: "The Gospel does not say that: on the contrary, Cornelius and his

family received the Holy Spirit before they were baptized; and St. Peter says, that the baptism which saves us, is not that of water; but the renewing and the purification of the heart by the Holy Spirit, of which the baptism of water is but a visible sign." *Habeta Selasse*: "We believe that the saints of the Old Testament did not enter into Paradise till after the death of Jesus Christ. What do you say to it?" *Missionary*: "You believe that which the Bible does not say. I do not know any thing about it; but I do know, by some passages of the Holy Scriptures, that they were in rest before the death of Jesus. Besides which, it seems to me that it is an inconsistency to believe that those who walked with God upon earth, who saw Him and spoke with Him, should be deprived of these advantages as soon as they are delivered from this body of sin and death: for what is Paradise, but a state of close communion with God? If it has other advantages, they are all very inferior to that." *Habeta Selasse*: "Does not St. Peter say, that Jesus is gone to the spirits kept in prison, to save them?" *Missionary*: "This passage is very difficult; but it does not at all refer to the saints of the Old Testament; for it only names those of the time of Noah; and it calls them *Unbelievers*, whilst Abraham is called the father of *Believers*. In all cases, they were saved by faith in the Son of God, *slain from the foundation of the world*; as it is also by faith in Jesus that we are justified before God, and saved from the wrath to

come." *Habeta Selasan* (to his companion): "He knows the Scriptures." His companion to him: "He is not ashamed to confess that he does not know what is not in the Bible. We are too proud to confess, when even we feel it." *Habeta Selasan*: "What is the cause of death?" *Missionary*: "The wages of sin is death, says St. Paul." *Habeta Selasan*: "Why then is the Virgin Mary dead, since she was without sin?" *Missionary*: "In this you may see to what errors men are subject, when they follow human doctrines, as you do: for, besides the general passages of the Bible, which say that all men are sinners, liars, wanderers, &c., I can prove to you, from two passages of the Gospel, that Mary was a sinner before and after the birth of Jesus Christ, as well as any other human being. In the first place, you acknowledge that those who are in health have no need of the physician; and that those who are not lost sinners, have no need of a Saviour. But Mary herself calls the Lord her Saviour: Luke i. 47." *Habeta Selasan* (and all the others): "It is undeniable." *Missionary*: "The second passage is in Luke ii. When Mary and Joseph came to Jerusalem with Jesus when he was twelve years of age, it is said, that the child Jesus remained at Jerusalem without Mary perceiving it." *Habeta Selasan* (interrupting me): "Yes, it must be confessed that it was a sin to separate from Jesus." *Missionary*: "At the same time, I do not see in the Word of God, nor in any other books, a model of woman so perfect as

Mary: she is worthy to be imitated by all Christians, for her faith, her submission, her humility, &c.; but since she is only a creature, even were she not a sinner, I do not think we ought to pray to her, and still less to worship her." *Habeta Selasse* (after a little pause): "Is death, then, the wages of the sin of individuals, or the wages of the sin of Adam?" *Missionary*: "St. Paul says, Rom. v., that *by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned*: thus the death of the body comes from the sin of Adam; but the death of the soul, eternal perdition, comes from the sin of individuals;—*the soul that sinneth, it shall die.*" *Habeta Selasse* (to all the others): "I have never heard so clear an explanation." We afterward read several passages of the Gospel together, and parted as friends; I might almost say, as brethren.

March 29, 1830—I had to-day a visit from Kidam Mariam, a rich merchant, with a priest and another person. Kidam Mariam is the Negad-Ras, or chief of the caravan, with which Girgis* travelled from Massowah to Adowah, on his return from Egypt. Girgis had spoken to him a good deal about us: he therefore knew my name, and had already some idea of my sentiments. He consequently began by asking me why we do not love the Virgin Mary. *Missionary*: "We love her, but we do not worship her." *Kidam Mariam*: "Why do you not pray to her?"

* [An Abyssinian whom Mr. Gobat had known in Egypt.—Ed.]

Missionary: "Because the Word of God does not command it: on the contrary, it enjoins us to go to Jesus, the only *Mediator between God and man*. It tells us, moreover, *Cursed is the man who trusteth in man*; because the help which is looked for from man is vanity." *Kidam Mariam*: "Do you confess your sins?" *Missionary*: "Yes, to God, who alone can pardon them. We also confess our faults one to another, of our own free will; but it is only, that we may unitedly ask God's pardon for them." *Kidam Mariam*: "Did not Jesus say to the Apostles, *Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, &c.*?" *Missionary*: "Yes; but that has nothing to do with the absolution which priests give in the present day; for we do not see, in the writings of the Apostles, that they ever made such a use of these words of Jesus Christ." *Kidam Mariam*: "Do you attribute two natures to Jesus Christ, or only one?" *Missionary*: "About this word, which varies its indeterminate signification in all languages, men have disputed quite enough to prove that they have not the Spirit of Christ. The Bible does not speak either of one or of two natures; but it says, that Jesus Christ is true God, and true man." *Kidam Mariam*: "Which is it that dies in Jesus Christ, the divinity with the humanity, or the humanity alone?" *Missionary*: "These are things very far beyond our reach, when we take any other guide than the Bible. St. Paul says to Timothy, that God is immortal." *Kidam Mariam*: "How does Jesus

Christ save us: is it as God, or as man?" *Missionary*: "He has loved us with a divine love. But St. Paul says to the Hebrews, and elsewhere, that He became man to save us; for by *death He has destroyed him who had the power of death*; and it is by the blood of His cross that He hath reconciled us to God, and procured eternal redemption for us. It is this boundless love of God for us, unworthy as we are, that ought unceasingly to occupy our minds, and form the subject of our conversation; instead of disputing on incomprehensible points, or occupying ourselves rather with earthly things. If such were the fruit of our faith, it would without fail be a true faith.

March 30, 1830—Till to-day I have been as it were in prison, on account of the disturbances taking place in the city. This morning I went to the Chief of the Customs, Achaber, to whom it had been reported that I had come into the city with much merchandise. We arranged matters peaceably: he told me, that I might go wherever I pleased, till such time as Beleta Darcopti should come to assure him that I am not a merchant. Thence I went to the Etchegua, Philippos. He directed his attendants to tell me that he desired greatly to see me after the fast; that during the fast (before Easter only) he could not see any one. At the same time, he gave me a man to accompany me wherever I might wish. From thence I went to see the King, Guigar; who truly has only the name of King, for he has neither temporal

grandeur, nor spirit, nor heart. He was formerly a monk; but after the death of the King, Joas, his brother, he exchanged the cap of St. Anthony for the crown. The first became him much better. He lives in a little circular house, built by Joas on the ruins of a part of the palace built by the Portuguese. Salutations ended, he asked if I had not a present for him. *Missionary*: "No, I have brought with me only what was necessary: but if you will accept a copy of the Gospel, I have one at your disposal." *The King*: "I should much wish to see it." *Missionary*: "I will send it you to-morrow." He then gave me a servant to show me the palace; which, although in ruins, is still superior to any thing that I should have expected in Abyssinia. There are still three large rooms, and some small ones, in good condition; but full of dust and filth. The King occupies only one room, furnished sufficiently well for this country, and divided into two compartments by a white curtain. He asked me if I had ever seen a mansion like it. "Yes," I said to him, "I have seen some in my country which resemble it a little." This astonished him. "What!" said he, "do there still exist men able to build a house its equal?" I judged it right to speak by an interpreter, who thus far interpreted very well; but, afterward, questions arose on some points of religion, on which I was obliged to declare an opinion opposite to his. I saw how useless it is to endeavour to preach the Gospel by means of an

interpreter who is not a Christian; for when he had to contradict, not only did he not say what I had said, but oftentimes he said just the opposite. The King is said to be eighty-six years old; but, for my part, I should consider him as being somewhere between sixty-five and seventy. He patiently waits for the arrival of an Abuna, to create another King in his place. He has had the name of King for seven years. His brother Joas had reigned four years, to the satisfaction of the people; but he had a good support, or, one might say, a good superior, in Ras Googsa. The present King has no Ras: he lives on what the great people are willing to give him in charity: nevertheless, he told me, that if it were not the season of fasting, he would have had an ox killed for me.

March 31, 1830—This morning I made my first visit to Alaca Waldab, renowned throughout all Abyssinia for his knowledge. I found him to be a fine old man, lame, but able to set himself up on his bed to kiss my hand, which he grasped as if he had long known me. I staid with him but a short time. He immediately began by saying to me how wicked he and the other Abyssinians are, and how much behind-hand, in respect to knowledge. To which I replied, that all the world over, men are wicked; yet even by the evil of our own hearts we learn to estimate the love of God toward us. "God does not require of us much knowledge, but much love." "Yes, yes!" he replied, "if we had only more love for the Lord,

and for one another!" This is the most learned man in Abyssinia: he knows nearly all the works written in Ethiopic; and has attained, by his great application, to the speaking of Arabic very intelligibly. On parting, he begged me often to come and see him.

This afternoon, his disciple, Habeta Selasse, came to see me. He has always a great number of questions to ask me. It is evident that he is eager to learn; but I have had a much higher pleasure to-day, on seeing him touched with a sense of his spiritual misery. "I desire," said he to me, "to become good; but I feel that I am wicked; even when I sincerely desire to do good, Satan always finds a hold on my heart." Conversation arose about the Lord's Supper; and when we came to the article of Transubstantiation, he manifested a kind of horror at it; and said to me, "We call the bread and the wine of the Holy Supper the body and the blood of Jesus Christ, that we may not confound them with ordinary bread and wine. We believe that the bread in itself remains bread, and the wine remains wine; but believers, in receiving the bread and wine, receive spiritually the body and blood of Jesus Christ." He made inquiries concerning the Greeks, the Copts, and the Armenians; and asked me from which of these three sects they should elect an Abuna. I, as usual, took the opportunity of showing him the errors and crimes into which people fall, when they neglect the Word of God. I told him that there

was no great difference ; that they are all corrupted in doctrine and practice ; but that there are promising appearances that the Greeks will improve, in course of time.

April 1, 1830—I had many unimportant visits. I passed two hours agreeably with Habeta Selasse, conversing, as usual, on the Word of God. During the three years that I have been with the Arabs, I have found no one among them so well acquainted with the Bible. I gave him to understand the difference which exists between us and the papists, known here by the name of Franks.

April 2—I have been to see the Chief of the Customs, Achaber. There were many persons present ; among others, several priests, who were disputing with Cantiba Cassai, Governor of Gondar. His soldiers had stolen beer, and some other articles ; and since he refused restitution, if I understood it right, the priests had excommunicated him. The Abyssinians fear excommunication nearly as much as death : it is the only thing which alarms the great people ; so that even Cantiba Cassai was quite downcast : but it was easy to see that he was not without indignation, although he made an effort to restrain it.

Thence I went to Alaca Waldab ; who began by telling me, that it had been reported to him, from all quarters, that I knew all things ; that it was impossible to ask me a question which I could not answer. In reply, I told him that that was not the case ;—that for a long time my principal study

had been the Word of God; and that the more I read it, the more I saw that I knew nothing: but one thing only is necessary, which is, the knowledge of God in Christ, inseparably united with love. There were five or six priests, who put some thorny questions to me; to which I always replied by a passage from the Bible. For example: "Was Jesus Christ anointed by the Holy Spirit exactly as Christians are?" *Missionary*: "I do not at all know: I only know that St. Peter says, Acts x. 38, *God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power.*" *The Priests*: "In what degree did the Holy Spirit contribute to the incarnation of Jesus Christ?" *Missionary*: "I believe that man is incapable of comprehending it: but the angel Gabriel said to Mary, *The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.*" *The Priests*: "What was the anointing which the Holy Spirit wrought in Jesus Christ?" *Missionary*: "Explain yourselves: I do not understand what you mean." *The Priests*: "Did not the Holy Spirit consecrate Him?" *Missionary*: "Yes: for the word Christ signifies Anointed, or Consecrated?" *The Priests*: "For what office was He consecrated?" *Missionary*: "Under the old covenant they consecrated priests, as Aaron and his sons; kings, as Saul and David and Solomon; and prophets, as Elisha; by anointing with oil. These were so many types of the anointing of the Spirit, which Jesus was to receive, that He

might be our Priest, to reconcile us to God by the offering of Himself; our King, to deliver us from our enemies; and our Prophet, to teach us." *Alaca Waldab* (to the priests): "That is sufficient: too much has not been told me of him: he knows the Scriptures." *The Priests*: "Is it as God, or as man, that Jesus is High Priest?" *Missionary*: "St. Paul says to the Hebrews, that *every High Priest is taken from among men*; that Jesus Christ took the seed of Abraham; that he became in all things like His brethren, *that He might be a merciful and faithful High Priest, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people*. This love, which caused Him to become for a little while inferior to the angels, ought to occupy all our thoughts, and produce in us gratitude and love." *Alaca Waldab*: "How many books of the New Testament do you reckon?" *Missionary*: "Twenty-seven; viz. Matthew, &c." *Alaca Waldab*: "And the Synods?" *Missionary*: "We read them, as well as the other books of the Ancients; but we do not draw from them any proof in matters of faith. We compare them with the Bible; and what is conformable to it we call good, but what is contrary we reject." *Alaca Waldab*: "And have you the book called *Didascalia*?" *Missionary*: "No, the first Christians made no use of it; and we have no proof of its being inspired. Moreover, I have not read it." *Alaca Waldab*: "And the book called *Kidam Mariam*? We add it to the New Testament, as well as the two

preceding: have you it?" *Missionary*: "It is evident that it was written a long time after the Apostles, at a period when there was already much corruption in the Church: now, we receive only what the first Christians received, because we know that they were much better than those of subsequent ages. We desire to imitate them in every thing." *Alaca Waldab*: "How many Books do you reckon in the Old Testament?" *Missionary*: "Thirty-nine." *Alaca Waldab*: "We have more." *Missionary*: "Yes; such as the Maccabees, Tobit, Judith, &c.; but we have no proof that they were inspired; on the contrary, we know that the Jews and the first Christians never received them as such. We read them; but we do not draw from them any proof in matters of faith." *Alaca Waldab*: "All knowledge is concentrated in your country: we are all ignorant people in this country."

The King sent me back the copies of the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles which I had given him, with a message, begging me not to take it in bad part—that he already possesses many books, and that he would have much preferred my giving him a piece of cloth, or silk, or linen, &c.; that other Whites who had come had always given him something; that he, being a monk, prays day and night for them; and that he would do the same for me. I sent him word, in reply, that if any one honours not God according to His Word, neither will God honour him; and

that I was not in possession of any thing to give him, as a present, so worthy of a King as the Word of the King of kings.

April 4, 1830: Sunday—I passed a great part of the day alone, reading the Bible; and spent the afternoon very agreeably with Habeta Selasse. He found me in the garden, employed in reading hymns. I translated some for him, which much pleased him. After a long conversation on some points of doctrine on which we differ, we had recourse to St. Paul. "St. Paul," said he to me, "is my favourite: he is the master from whom I desire to learn what is the true faith." We afterward read Romans viii. and ix. He stopped every moment, to ask of me the explanation of what he had read. His views on Election are not clear; but he does not contend against the doctrine; on the contrary, it appears to be a source of consolation to him. When night came on, he said to me, "I must now go, for fear my clothes should be stolen. I do not know why I am so much pleased with you; but is it not a fact, that the disciples of Christ know and love one another, much more quickly than worldlings?" I gave him much information about Bible and Missionary Societies, which pleased him greatly; but he afterward said, in a tone of sadness, "There are many who call themselves Christians, who walk in the way of perdition. There are but few true Christians." I gave him a copy of the Gospel, which he received with tears in his eyes. He wished to kiss

my feet; but I prevented him from so doing, telling him that it would be a sin. On leaving, he told me that he should remain a year longer at Gondar, waiting till my return, that we may go together to Shoa; but, in the mean time, he wishes that I should procure him the whole Bible in Amharic.

April 5, 1830—Yesterday evening, at nine o'clock, fire broke out in the neighbourhood of the house where I live; and in the space of an hour it consumed about thirty houses. We expected nothing else than to see our dwelling become, in its turn, the prey of the flames; but when the fire caught the neighbouring house, the wind changed, and we escaped. Fire very often breaks out at Gondar; but the houses are built accordingly: it is only the roof and some trifling things which burn. Under the roof there is a terrace, so constructed, that the fire does not communicate with the interior of the house. When the fire catches the roof, they put all their property in the interior of the house: they then shut the door, which is commonly so thick, that, when the light straw roof is consumed, the door is only beginning to burn on the outside.

This morning I paid several visits to my acquaintances, to congratulate them on the fire not having consumed their dwellings. Afterward, I went to the Chief of the Customs, Achaber, while Beleta Darcopti was with him: but I was very much dissatisfied with Beleta Darcopti; for he

had promised Sebagadis, in my presence, that he would do every thing for me on my arrival in Gondar; and instead of that, he rather spoke to my disadvantage. I looked at him with an air of dissatisfaction, and said to him, "Did you not promise Sebagadis to do all that you could for me? Did I not show you my property on the road? What would it cost you to tell the truth? If you shake off my acquaintance, you, who called yourself my friend when you wanted to get me to entreat Oubea to send you back in peace, what must I expect from those who do not know me? I wish for justice; and if, contrary to custom, I must pay duty for books, I will pay what is right; and if more is exacted, you can take all that I have. You know that I am a stranger in this country: but God is witness between us; He will finally judge according to justice." Upon this, Beleta Darcopti desired Achaber to let me alone: upon which, Achaber said to him, that he had intended to demand of me fifty dollars (for sixty copies of the Gospel); "but," he added, "I give them up, for love of Darcopti." The priests wished me not to go to the Custom-house. They sent me word, this morning, that they looked upon me as an equal; and that they would rather die with me than suffer that a priest, who brings only the Gospel, should pay any thing to the Custom-house. But I was not anxious so quickly to identify myself with them.

I had afterward a long conversation, at the

house of the Etchegua, with several priests, on some passages of the Bible, especially relating to chronology and topography. I distributed to-day six copies of the Four Gospels. One I gave to a young man of Shoa; three to a soldier of Damot—one for himself, one for the widow of Ras Googsa and mother of Mariam, and one for the church of Lalibala. This man has accompanied me hither from Tigré. He speaks little; but he manifests an ardent desire to know the Word of God. Every time that I read the Gospel on the journey, he placed himself close to me; and when the others retired, he often begged me to read more to him. He can read, but not fluently enough, as yet, to be understood. I gave also a copy to Beleta Darcopti, who sets off to-morrow; but who is unwilling to take me with him, on account of the disturbances which there are in the country. I sent him one copy of the Gospel for Mariam, who is residing at Debra Tabor, three days to the s. e. of Gondar.

April 6, 1830—I passed all the forenoon at home, with Alaca Stephanos, to whom the Etchegua has recommended me for every thing that I may want—a priest, who has been to Jerusalem, and who afterward passed eleven years in Egypt, as a Coptic Catholic. He has not much talent; but he is not bigoted. He speaks in good terms of the English, before every one. The third of our party is my dear Habeta Selasse, and five or six others. They brought up several points of their

controversies ; to which I always replied, as usual, by a passage from the Bible. For example: they asked me if the humanity of Christ was combined with His divinity, after His ascension? I took the Gospel, and read to them these two passages: *The Father hath committed all judgment to the Son, because He is the SON OF MAN: John v. 22, 27. God hath appointed a day, in which He will judge the world in righteousness, by that MAN whom He hath ordained: Acts xvii. 31.* I then bade them judge of the meaning for themselves. *The others:* "It seems that it is as a man He will judge the world; then His humanity will remain distinct till the end of the world; but, afterward—?" *Missionary:* "The Bible does not say. I know nothing about it." *The others:* "Show us the passage where it is said that Jesus is the first among many brethren." I showed them the passage, Rom. viii. 29, and we read the chapter throughout. On which they put many questions to me;—thus: "We are *joint-heirs with Christ*. What is it that Christ will inherit?" *Missionary:* "St. Paul says to the Hebrews, that God hath appointed Him heir of all things." *The others:* "What are we to understand by that expression, *all things?*" *Missionary:* "St. Paul explains it lower down—*the world to come; because we see not yet that all things are put under Him.*" *The others:* "What are we to inherit with Christ?" *Missionary:* "*The kingdom, which was prepared for believers from the foundation of the world: Matt. xxv. 34.* For if we suffer

with Christ, *we shall also reign with Him.*" *The others:* "After the judgment, where shall we be?" *Missionary:* "St. Paul says of himself, and of other believers, *We shall ever be with the Lord:* 1 Thess. iv. 17." *The others:* "Where will the Lord be?" *Missionary:* "As it is said in Jeremiah, He will fill heaven and earth; for Solomon says, that the heaven of heavens cannot contain Him." *The others:* "Does not Jesus say that the heavens and the earth shall pass away?" *Missionary:* "St. Peter likewise says so; but he adds, that there will be new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness: 2 Pet. iii. 13." *The others:* "But where will believers be?" *Missionary:* "They will follow the Lamb, whithersoever He goeth: Rev. xiv. 4." On this passage, *That He might be the first-born among many brethren*, they asked me, "How is Jesus the first-born?" They wished to draw me to say, that it is because He received the Holy Spirit in His humanity, as Christians receive it. *Missionary:* "It does not relate here, as Heb. ii., to His brethren according to the flesh; but to the elect, who are children of God, and consequently brethren of His first-born Son." *The others:* "How do the elect become children of God?" *Missionary:* "To all those who received Jesus, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name; which were born, not of blood—parental,—nor of the will of the flesh—by natural choice or by their own strength,—nor of the will of man—whether of the priest

who baptizes, or of him who teaches; *but* who are born of God: John i. 12, 13. We become children of God, then, in receiving Jesus by the faith which God gives."—Afterward we read the third chapter of St. John, and then several passages from the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistle to the Romans, the only Books which I possess in Amharic. They told me that they have a book, which says that Adam remained seven years in Paradise before his sin. I replied to them, that we know nothing about it, because the Bible does not say this; and I then exhorted them to put aside all human books, and to cleave solely to the Word of God. At parting, they asked me if, when we fast, we eat fish. To which I replied, that fasting is properly an abstinence from all nourishment. St. Paul however says, *To the pure all things are pure*; and *vice versa*: Titus i. 15.

Yesterday I was dissatisfied with the conduct of Beleta Darcopti; but I learnt to-day that he expressed regret for it, in the presence of several persons; and, to make amends for his fault, he has again visited some of the chief persons of the city, to recommend me, as if I were his own son.

April 7, 1830 — This morning I went to see the chief of the Custom-house, Achaber; and I gave him a copy of the Gospel, in the presence of several of the first people of the city. As there was no one present able to read fluently in the Amharic, they begged me to read a chapter

to them. I read them the fifth chapter of St. Matthew, to which they listened with an attention which might shame some European judges. Afterward, I went to inform the Etchegua that I had finished with the Custom-house, and that I was on good terms with the Chief. He had sent word to me to acquaint him with all the difficulties I might meet with. Thence I went to see Alaca Waldab, who was giving a lecture in Theology to seven or eight persons*. I offered him a copy of the Four Gospels in Amharic, which he at first would not accept. This gave me pain, on account of those who were present; but after a little while, he told me that he would willingly receive it, but that he had nothing just then to pay for it. I replied to him, on again offering it to him, that I did not request any other payment, than an entire submission to its contents, and the continuation of his friendship. On that, he took the book from my hand with joy, and kissed it several times, holding it in his trembling hand until I parted from him. Afterward, I went to rest myself a little at the house of Tchelolargai, where I feel as one of the family. He is a fine

* The word Alaca properly means *Great*; but now it corresponds to *Rector*, in English. However, it is not necessary that an Alaca should be a priest; on the contrary, there are very few priests that are Alacas. An Alaca has the care of furnishing every thing needful, and of placing priests in the church of which he has the charge. There are churches which, after defraying all expenses, bring in an income of a thousand dollars yearly to the Alaca.

old man, who has not much knowledge; but he is upright, charitable and humble, as is also his wife. I passed a good part of the afternoon with Habeta Selasse. We read some passages of the Gospel, but we did not discuss any new subject. He asked me the interpretation of several Greek and Hebrew proper names. The Abyssinians lay much stress on the signification of proper names.

April 8, 1830—Achaber, yesterday, invited me to go and taste his grape-wine to-day. I passed some hours at his house, in the midst of the Judges; who were occupied, for the fourth time, with a very unimportant cause. I saw with pleasure that they conscientiously made all possible inquiries to ascertain the truth; but yet they did not finish to-day. The Abyssinians, as is well known, do not employ Advocates. As soon as they were by themselves, Achaber gave the Gospel to a young man, and made him read several chapters, in the presence of the Judges and other Christians and Mussulmans present; and they all listened with the greatest attention to three chapters of St. Matthew. After that, the people retired; and Achaber excused himself to me for having received me so coldly at first. The reason, he told me, was this: "A year ago, an Armenian came to Gondar, whom I received as well as possible; but he played me several tricks; in consequence of which, the esteem which I had entertained for the Whites was changed for contempt, believing that they were all like the one that I had been intimate

with. I looked on you as such, at the beginning ; but now I am convinced of the contrary ; and I beg you to pardon me, and to be persuaded of my friendship and esteem for you. If you want any thing, or if I can be of service to you, speak freely to me : I am ready to do all that I can for you." This man has the chief influence at Gondar at present—except the Etchegua, but he only for preventing evil. His physiognomy is not prepossessing ; but the more I know him, the more I esteem him. It is not only an Armenian who has wronged the Whites among the Blacks ; for I had the pain of hearing, all the way from Tigré to Gondar, where the name of the English is scarcely known, persons continually repeating the profanest English curses*. They did not know the meaning of the words ; but said that they were always in the mouth of the English, when angry.

This afternoon, the Morning Reader came to my house ; and we read several passages of the Gospel together. He would willingly have received a copy, but he did not dare to ask it. The people of Tigré cannot see a thing without asking for it ; but those of Gondar are much more under the restraint of good manners. Up to this time, no one, the King excepted, has begged any thing of me at Gondar, save an occasional pinch of snuff.

* [A similar circumstance is mentioned by Bruce, (Book vi. Chap. 4.) as taking place on his visit to the great Cataract of Alata.—ED.]

After that, I had a visit from two old men, the younger of whom talked about a scheme he had of going to Jerusalem. I dissuaded him from it; telling him, that he would have only trouble, and no profit. I then advised him to read the Gospel; and to go to Jesus, who is everywhere present, here as well as at Jerusalem, and always ready to save all those *who come unto God by Him*. I read them several passages of the Gospel. When I came to the end of the eleventh chapter of St. Matthew, *Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest, &c.*, the women present cried out, with tears in their eyes, "We never heard such good words!" "Yes," said he who wished to go to Jerusalem, "I will learn the Gospel, and so resign myself to God."

April 10, 1830—Yesterday and to-day I did not go out; but I had several visits from persons who expressed to me their desire to go to Jerusalem. They believe, that the moment they kiss the stones of Jerusalem, all their sins are forgiven them; but the meritorious act is the fatigue of the journey. As usual, I dissuaded them from it, and endeavoured to lead them to Jesus. They seemed to receive all that was said to them; but the Spirit of God alone can render the Word effectual in their hearts. In Abyssinia, one too often sows in stony places, where the Word is received with joy, but where it also very soon withers away: meanwhile, I desire to sow: perhaps some grains

will fall on ground prepared by the Lord, and in the day of the great harvest we shall see the fruits of it.

April 11, 1830: Easter Sunday—To-day, as well as all the days of the week past, I have been in spirit with my brethren in Europe—with them returning thanks to God, for His great love for sinners, manifested in the sufferings and death of our Saviour. But, alas! I felt how greatly we need, so long as we are in this world, to have some brethren around us, to quicken love, and to rekindle zeal. This morning Achaber sent for me; but when I went, he expressed himself concerned at not being able to converse with me as he desired, a caravan having just arrived from Debra Tabor.

The Abyssinians are very far from observing Sunday so strictly as they are reported in Europe. The men do not labour, and the women abstain from grinding and spinning. In other respects, they work on Sunday as well as on other days, except at Gojam. On Saturday, the women sometimes spin. In general, the men work very little; they are very idle; the women are much more active. They all have the idea that Sunday is made for eating and drinking; even during Lent, they eat two or three times a day on the Saturday and the Sunday. They only abstain from animal food; not from fish. Achaber took me alone into his room, and made me taste, for the first time, pure wine of the grape of Abyssinia, which is not

bad: it is a kind of medium between the wine of Bourdeaux and that of Burgundy: its colour is a pale red. In a short time, two priests entered, who began to read in a book which they call *Sinquesar*. They had two copies of it; and as they found every moment a difference between the one and the other, I took occasion to show them how uncertain a thing it is, and consequently how dangerous, to attach ourselves to human doctrines; while the Word of God is *sure, making wise the simple, and able to make the man of God wise to salvation*. They shut their book, without saying any thing; and I retired.

I passed a great part of the afternoon with two priests, who came to see me with Habeta Selasse. I endeavoured to show them how small the number of Christians must be in Abyssinia, by the prevailing want of love. "It is not," I said to them, "by fasts of forty days, nor by celibacy, &c., that Jesus wishes His disciples to make themselves known, but by the love which they should have one toward another. St. John says, that he who loves not his brother, loves not God; and he who loves not God, knows Him not: he does not keep His commandments, but abideth in constant sin. Now, I call you to witness, whether hatred, envy, and the spirit of revenge, with ignorance and vice, do not form the character of the Abyssinian people." They all three replied, "Yes, you are perfectly right." "Now," I added, "permit me to tell you frankly, that it is you, the priests, who

are the cause of the ignorance and corruption of the people; and the Lord will require it at your hands. Not to speak of your attachment to earthly things, if, instead of disputing continually on points which you cannot comprehend, you were to instruct the people in the Word of God, you would see that every thing would take a very different course; at least you would not expose your own souls to perdition." They gave no answer; and we all, for a good space of time, kept silence. Afterward we came to speak of those who attribute two natures to Jesus Christ. "They follow," said Habeta Selasse, "the doctrine of Nestorius; but we, who admit only one nature, anathematize him." On that I replied: "You are very much in the wrong; for, without pretending to justify Nestorius in every thing, I must tell you, that in general he was a better man, and more attached to the Word of God, than you. We blame him, in some respects, for not keeping strictly enough to the Bible; but we only anathematize those who *love not our Lord Jesus Christ*. St. Paul says to the Philippians, that if they were *otherwise minded*, on less important points, God would, in process of time, make known to them the truth; but, notwithstanding he supposes in them some differences of opinion, he yet fails not to call them his well-beloved brethren. We ought then also in this to imitate his example. The Bible speaks neither of one nor of two natures in Jesus Christ: it only says, that *He is God over all*; and that He was

made a man like unto us in all things, except sin, that He might save us, and redeem us to God by the shedding of His blood. It is His sufferings, His death, and His eternal love for us, that ought to engage all our thoughts, and win all our heart; not only during these feast-days, but throughout our whole life."

April 12, 1830—This morning I went to see, for the first time, the Governor of Gondar, Cantiba Cassai, a young man about twenty-four years of age. He had a dispute with an old priest; and a lady was interceding for the priest. It was on this account. At the last great fire, some things were stolen from Cantiba Cassai, and the next day some of them were found at the house of the priest. Cassai, concluding hence that the money which was stolen with the things was also at the priest's house, put him in prison for eight days, which end to-day; and this morning he exacted twelve dollars from him. The priest has always maintained that the goods were deposited at his house unknown to him. The affair has been referred to the decision of the Judges (*Licaounte*, singular *Lic*). After they had done, I presented a copy of the Gospel to Cassai, who received it with the greatest joy. I never yet saw any one who evinced so much pleasure in receiving the Gospel, while yet he is not even able to read. Every moment he repeated, "What can this mean? A stranger, who does not know me, and on whom I have not conferred any benefit,

brings me the Word of Life! If he had given me a thousand dollars, I should not have valued it in comparison with this book. The Four Gospels! It is the way that will guide me to eternal life!"

While I was writing this, Cassai sent me some bottles of grape-wine. His servant, who brought it, told my servants, that all the day his master has the Gospel in his hands, and shows it to all who come to see him.

Thence I went to a lady who, some years ago, was the first lady in Abyssinia—the daughter of the famous Ras Googsa, and wife of Dejjaj Marou; but, since the death of them both, she has been obliged to humble a little. She had sent me an invitation; but when I entered, she received me with all the haughtiness of an Abyssinian lady. I had already seen examples of haughtiness at the houses of other ladies of the country, the first time of going to see them; but they are too light to be able to keep up such a character. She hardly returned my salutation on entering; and asked me, in a cold and indifferent tone, how I did: then she veiled all her face, the eyes excepted. After two minutes' silence, I rose to go, fully resolved never to set foot again in her house.

About an hour after, she sent her servant to make her apology; saying, that she repented of having received me so coldly; adding, that women of her rank are obliged to be reserved the first time they see a man at their houses, otherwise the world speaks ill of them; that, besides this, she

had a great awe of my presence, that she begged me to pardon her, and to give her a return visit. I desired the messenger to call the lady. That if I had gone of my own accord to her house, I should have expected violence in all countries of the world; that even where invited, according to the customs of the country, I did not expect a friend's reception; but that the excessive pride that I had remarked in her had so exceedingly displeased me, that I had resolved no more to enter her house: "but, seeing that she is sensible of her error, I pardon her with all my heart, and will desire God to pardon me my fault; and from this moment I am ready to go to see her, when she shall wish it." They speak much of her at Gondar. It is said, for example, that she is a cannibal, and that she has eaten several children. When I heard this the first time, I paid no attention to it; but after much inquiry, I had at least some suspicions. It is confidently reported of Googsa, that he made no secret of it. I am not disposed to believe that Googsa was a cannibal, but it is possible that they slaughter children for some other purpose; for I have often heard that the Edjow Gallas, from whom the family of Googsa is descended, in very particular cases slaughter men, to appease the deity; but I have not seen any one who has been a witness of it. There is a tribe some days from Gonderov, on the western road, called Zmügerows (apes), who resemble the Gallas, but who speak another language.

When there arrives a caravan or a troop of strangers, were there even only two, the chief of the district casts lots upon them; and immediately seizes him on whom it falls, to slaughter him, in order to divine, or, as one expressed it who told me he had been a witness of this action, to see in his entrails what would be the events of the following year. When the Gallas suffer any calamities, whether want or sickness, &c., they sacrifice an ox, a sheep, or a goat, &c., to appease the divinity. (There are also Abyssinian Christians who do so.) In this, all the Gallas have one and the same custom. They are also very partial to myrrh and incense, for offering odours to God. They have no other religion than this.

April 13, 1830—This morning I went to see Alaca Stephanos, whom I found quite alarmed on my account. He had been informed yesterday that I was looked upon in the town as a spy; and that probably, under this pretext, they would come and take me and put me in irons, in order to compel me to pay a considerable sum of money. He told me that he had not been able to sleep during the night, remembering that I had no relation in this country to protect me. He had already had a conversation about me with Tchelolargai, who is still more alarmed than himself. They had come to the resolution, that I ought again to quit the house of Emmaha (where I returned to lodge eight days ago), to take up my lodging in a house which the Etchegua would give me in his quarter.

I replied, that I was very grateful for the care which he took of me, but that I did not feel disposed to follow his counsel: First, because I considered myself the friend of two of the chief persons in the city; and next, even if that were not the case, I have confidence in God, who will not permit any thing to happen to me but what is for my good. Further, that I looked on his advice as not to my advantage; because, if I went to establish myself a second time in the Etchegua's quarter, it would be thought that I was under the influence of fear; and on that account they would suspect me, either of having much money, or of having some bad intention: and in that way, I should be shutting myself up in a prison, from which I should have still greater difficulty in getting out. "It may be, you are in the right," he replied; "but you have been recommended to our protection. This country is in a bad state, and the Bible orders us to take care of strangers: it is on this account I had no rest till I had spoken to you." I have already remarked, on several occasions, that the Gondar people are very easily frightened.

April 14—Much rain has fallen. I passed the afternoon with Habeta Selasse, who begins to see the danger there is in following any other doctrine whatever than that which is taught us in the Word of God. This evening I gave a copy of the Gospel to a writer, who came to see me with his son. On giving it, I begged him to instruct

his son in the doctrine of the Gospel, and not according to the precepts of men. He replied, raising his eyes upward, "If it please God, I desire first to instruct myself."

April 15, 1830—This morning I paid several visits of ceremony, and received several. Habeta Selasse passed about two hours with me. He told me that he had had a dispute yesterday evening with some priests and Alaca Waldab, who were angry with him. Habeta Selasse maintained, that Christians ought to adopt nothing as a rule of faith and conduct but what is contained in the Word of God; because the Word of God is sufficient to render man *wise unto salvation*. It was not till to-day that he told me he was not a priest. They have often wished to persuade him to be consecrated; but he has constantly refused: "Because," says he, "I see that the greater part of the priests are bad, and that they are walking in the road to perdition. Above all, I see that they are peculiarly liable to be tempted by the love of money; and I fear lest I should offer myself to be consecrated for the ministry as a means of gaining my livelihood. Besides that, I see that if there are some conscientious priests, the world is more ready to lay the charge of avarice on them than on the wicked; and thus their labours are rendered useless. This, then, is my plan: I propose still to remain for some months at Gondar, to finish the ninth year of my studies; and then I will return to Shoa, in the service of the King,

and will endeavour to instruct his soldiers, and to be as useful to them as possible. In this manner, I shall not be accused of instructing and reproofing for money; and thus I believe that people will better receive what I may say. What say you to my plan?" *Missionary*: "I entirely approve it: only I beg, I conjure you, to hold to the Word of God alone: in this way you will both save yourself and those who hear you."

April 16—To-day is Good Friday here. The people send their servants to salute their acquaintances; and they are frequently going in and going out of church. I went there also; and found a company of young people, with two or three priests, who were inattentively reading Chrysostom. The churches of Abyssinia are very neat, entirely covered with carpets, which are very dear in this country. All the ornaments which they have in the shape of images are, commonly, the Trinity under different forms, most frequently that of three old men; Jesus on the cross; the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove; the Virgin Mary, with the Infant Jesus on the left arm; St. George; and the patron saint of the church. There are also good and bad angels: the bad are represented as burning in flames with the devil. There is never wanting a St. Michael. The churches are commonly built by some great person, and enriched by the sins of the rich: that is to say, when a rich man has done some evil, his father confessor imposes on him a long and

rigorous fast ; but at the same time proposes, that if the fast be too difficult for him, he, the priest, will fast for him ; on condition, however, that he should give a certain sum of money for the church of such a saint. It is said, quite openly enough, that the priest does not fail to pay himself also for his fast. I had a visit from a man of the royal family, who told me that he gains his living by labour. He acts the writer, the painter, and the joiner. He complained much of the corruption of the people ; but I fear that it is only because they leave him in poverty : at the same time, I saw with pleasure that he carries about with him a copy of the Gospel according to St. John.

April 17, 1830—This morning, at break of day, the priests of two churches, St. Michael and St. George, came to sing in my room, one party after the other. Afterward, I went to the house of the Etchegua, who was for the first time visible after the fast. I was not able to speak much with him, because the priests of all the churches of the city came, one after the other, to sing at his house, as they did at mine this morning. The sight of them, at first, gave me great pain ; because their vestments much more resembled carnival masquerade dresses, than the decent clothing of the servants of God : but afterward I endeavoured to lay aside all the feelings of a European, to view the thing just as it is. Never did I feel the spirit of prayer animate me with so much ardour and pity. There are commonly two priests, two boys of

fourteen or fifteen years of age, and one of ten, dressed in clothes of richly-coloured silk, with very clumsy crowns. One of the priests carries a great cross, and the youngest boy a hand-bell. Besides those, there are from three to eight other priests, dressed in white, according to custom. They sing in a very rustic manner, but not without regularity, according to the tenor of these words of St. Paul, Rom. iv. 25: *Jesus was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification.* In singing, they make several signs with the right hand, which at first sight do not appear very well to agree with the words of their hymn. In finishing, they softly strike the ground with the foot, and bow, so as to kiss the ground as they pronounce the last word. They remained in this posture while the Etchegua offered vows for the whole country; till at length he closed by beginning the Lord's Prayer, which each accompanied in a low voice. In other houses, it is the office of one of the priests to make vows for the house which they visit.

On leaving the house of the Etchegua, I again paid several visits: among others, to a lady, Ozoro Waleta Teclit, sister of the deceased Dejaj Marou, and mother of the young warrior, Dejaj Comfou. It is the first time that I have seen her, and, consequently, I was not able to have connected conversation with her; but she is much less haughty than other ladies who are her inferiors. My watch afforded much amusement to her, and to

all her attendants. In general, when I speak of the superiority of Europe, they are not very much disposed to believe me; but when they see my watch, every body says that in the place where there is workmanship like that, they must know every thing.—I passed the afternoon with Habeta Selasse. The principal subject of our conversation was baptism. He at once understood that the baptism of water could not be the regeneration of which Jesus Christ speaks in John iii.; nevertheless, he was astonished at the idea that the baptism of water is but a visible sign, without substance. After a short pause, he at length observed, "I must needs view it so; for the greater part of those who have been baptized with water are Christians only in name." We afterward spoke of my plan of going, in a year or two, to establish myself at Shoa.

April 18, 1830 — Easter Sunday in Abyssinia. It is a day of excessive eating. Yesterday evening, a report was spread, that a famous chief of banditti had pillaged several villages in the neighbourhood of Gondar, and, in consequence, the priests have excommunicated all those who will not fast to-day; but this news is not verified; and after midnight, those who had the means began their feast. I had bought a cow for the feast; but, because it is Sunday, I determined that it should not be killed; which has much astonished the people, not however to my disadvantage. What was killed yesterday, or during Lent, is

looked upon as unlawful. I endeavoured to make my people, and a dozen poor persons whom I had at my table, understand that the remembrance of the resurrection of Jesus Christ ought to be to Christians a spiritual feast, and not a day of carnal mirth. No visits are paid to-day.

April 19—This morning, the Etchegua sent for me, to introduce me to two men whom Oubea was about to liberate. They were prisoners of war at his house; and, from their liberation, people here conclude that peace will take place. One of them is the brother of Ras Googsa, and the other his nephew. The first begged me to take him with me, to bring him to Jerusalem; but, as usual in such cases, I gave an equivocal answer. I passed all the forenoon with the Etchegua, without having any connected conversation, on account of persons going and coming. He asked me, among other things, whether we recognised St. Peter, as the Franks, or St. John, as the Greeks, for the Head of our Church. To which I replied, that when any one says that he is of Paul, or of Apollos, or of Cephas, St. Paul says that he is carnal. "We acknowledge no other Head than Jesus Christ; and we do not admit any point of doctrine except what is proved by the Word of God." This did not displease him. He excused himself for not being able to be so useful to me as he wished, because there is neither King nor Ras in the country. His quarter has lately been plundered, for the first time, by a troop of banditti,

who have nothing to fear under the government of Mariam. At the close, he told me that, wherever I might travel in Abyssinia, I had only to travel as his friend, and no trouble would happen to me. The Etchegua is a man of about sixty years of age. He was a soldier in his youth; which is, perhaps, the reason that he has not the hypocritical air of the monks of other countries: on the contrary, there is a smile on his lips, and a simplicity in his eyes, which attract me toward him. He has not much knowledge; but he has more judgment than the monks in general. His friendship cannot fail of being useful to me among the Abyssinians, should it prove durable.

This afternoon I had a visit from several persons, with Habeta Selasse. As it is a day of feasting, I gave them an Abyssinian dinner, partly roast meat, and partly raw. I think it is very important for a Missionary to follow the customs of the country where he is placed, as far as he can do so without sin. I did not think it right to oppose them; but, during the whole repast, I conversed with them on the love of God for sinners, and the love which ought to subsist among Christians; noticing the points on which they may differ, without injuring true faith and brotherly love. They went away very well contented, and, I believe, filled with a desire to see all Christians giving the hand of fellowship in the obedience of the Gospel of Christ.

April 20, 1830—This morning, Alaca Waldab

sent for me to go and breakfast with him ; but I was not able to introduce any religious conversation, he was so much occupied in directing the duties of the table. He had such good mead, that he himself fell asleep in the midst of the repast, without, however, at all losing his reason. My two servants, with the others, took too much : only Habeta Selasse was in a state to converse more seriously with me. We spoke of the education which he should give his son, a boy of four or five years of age. He told me to return as soon as possible to Gondar, to go with him to commence a mission to the Gallas, of whom he has much hope. Ever since I spoke to him concerning Evangelical Missions, he appears to be much taken up with the plan of going himself to proclaim the Gospel to the Gallas.

All the afternoon I had my house full of men and women. There was a priest, who spoke much at the beginning. I had given him the Gospel to read ; but he read so badly, that nobody could understand him ; and when I showed him how he ought to read, he said to me, in order to cover his ignorance, that he was not able to read Amharic, but that he knew Ethiopic well. I immediately gave him the Psalms in the Ethiopic language, and he directly set about reading as fast as he could move his lips. I stopped him, remarking, that such reading could answer no purpose, but to offend God. I wished to make him translate line after line ; and he, thinking that I

did not know the Ethiopic, made pretence to translate readily the first line ; but, in his translation, not a single word of the original was to be found. I then told him to translate word for word ; on which he was obliged to confess, before all, that he did not understand what he was reading, which not a little astonished the by-standers. I took occasion, from that, seriously to represent to him the danger to which he exposed his immortal soul, and the souls of those who put themselves under his direction ; for *if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch*. I afterward told the others to take heed to themselves, not to suffer themselves blindly to be led by ignorant priests. I finished by reading to them several passages of the Gospel. The priest, without being angry, told me that he knew nobody who could instruct him ; and added, that if he remained some time here, he would come every day to me to be instructed.

April 21, 1830—I passed the forenoon at the house of Cantiba Cassai, who again testified his gratitude for the Gospel which I had given him. He told me that he was a relation of Mariam, of Galla origin ; but that that tribe of Gallas are descendants of the Franks (Portuguese), and that they consequently regarded it as a point of honour to speak the truth. There were two young priests, one of whom asked my advice concerning his project of going to Jerusalem. I dissuaded him from it, citing the passage in St. John iv.

21—23. He then asked me, what it is to worship God in spirit. As the room was full of people, I enlarged upon the application of this passage; showing, in the first place, the necessity of knowing God experimentally, and according to the Bible. All the by-standers were very attentive, and appeared to be convinced of what I said, especially the young Cantiba Cassai.

April 22—Passed a great part of the day at the house of Tchelolargai. He had his house full of poor people, to whom he gave bread and beer, as much as they wished. All this week is considered as only one day of feasting, which they call Easter. Each eats and drinks according to his means; and those who possess a little property have every day a quantity of poor people, to whom they give food and drink, during half the day.

April 23—I passed the forenoon at the house of Kidam Mariam, who had as many poor people as Tchelolargai had yesterday. These three days I have passed the afternoon with Habeta Selasse.

April 24—I passed some hours very agreeably at the house of the Etchegua; and I feel convinced that it was the Lord that unloosed my tongue to reply to all his questions. He commenced by asking me what we thought of one or of two natures in Christ. I took a piece of bread, and said to him, "What do you think of this piece of bread? do you attribute to it one nature, or two?" *The*

Etchegua: "I only attribute one." *Missionary*: "Yet there is the nature of teff, and the nature of water, which, for all they are united together, may be regarded as distinct, and are even capable of being separated. This is a feeble image of the divine and human natures united in the person of Christ. In your language, the expression 'two natures' (*baher*), which you confound with the equally indefinite word (*acdle*) 'person,' is not perhaps suitable to Jesus Christ; because it would give the idea of two separate beings. In like manner, the expression 'one nature' is not suitable in our language; because it would give the idea of a monstrous confusion in the person of Christ." *The Etchegua*: "I conceive that it is the confusion of languages which has produced the confusion in the Church in this respect." *Missionary*: "Do you believe Jesus Christ to be perfect God and perfect Man?" *The Etchegua*: "Yes, with all my heart!" *Missionary*: "Well, we are brothers in this respect, although we express ourselves differently. As for us, we believe we ought not to anathematize any but those who love not our Lord Jesus Christ." *The Etchegua* (turning toward the numerous attendants): "*Eounate nao! Eounate nao!* (It is the truth! It is the truth!)"—To me: "How is Jesus Christ our brother? Is it according to the flesh, or according to the Spirit?" *Missionary*: "There are passages in the Bible which are not very clear on this subject; but there are some which show clearly that He is called our

brother according to the flesh ; viz. *He was made like unto His brethren in all things*, except sin : and elsewhere it is said, that He is, *according to the flesh*, of the seed of David, a son of Adam our father according to the flesh. In other passages it can only be according to the Spirit ; for example, *Tell my brethren that I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God.*" *The Etchegua* : " I have often been perplexed on this point ; but now it appears to me that I understand it. But how does a man become the brother of Jesus Christ according to the Spirit ?" *Missionary* : " By regeneration, which is called the being born of God, of the Spirit, from on high, &c." *The Etchegua* : " By the way, independently of the work of the Holy Spirit, who is it that visibly began the work of regeneration under the New Covenant—is it Jesus Christ Himself, or the Apostles ?" *Missionary* : " Read the nineteenth chapter of St. Matthew." All the chapter was read ; and on coming to this passage, *You, who have followed me in the regeneration, &c.* the Etchegua, striking his breast, said, " It is clear as day !" All the rest looked at each other, without saying any thing. They must have disputes on this point, which I have not yet been made acquainted with. He then continued, " When does regeneration begin in man ?" *Missionary* : " To avoid all ambiguity, I ought first to say, that men too easily deceive themselves in believing that water-baptism is itself regeneration,

either in whole or in part. It is only a visible sign of an invisible operation which must take place in the heart of every man who enters into the Church of Christ. Whether infants ought to be baptized, or only believing adults, is another question; but as a proof that the baptism of water is not Evangelical regeneration, there are many persons baptized who are neither regenerated nor Christians." *The Etchegua*: "*Eounate nao!* (It is true!)" Several of the priests present appeared astonished at his answer. *Missionary*: "It appears then, by many accounts in the Bible, that regeneration commences at all seasons of life, with some sooner, and with others later." *The Etchegua*: "How is regeneration wrought in man?" *Missionary*: "It appears that Jesus Himself could not explain it in human language: how much less I, who am still so imperfect in your language? But, collecting the passages of Scripture which speak of it, this is how I believe it may be explained. It commences by a lively sense of that sinfulness and corruption into which the sinner is plunged by nature. This painful feeling humbles a man, and constrains him to ask for grace, as a criminal worthy of eternal death. In this state, the same Spirit which has unveiled to the man's eyes his spiritual misery conducts him to the foot of the cross of Jesus, and gives him to understand that Christ *was made sin and a curse*, for men sinful and accursed, that *whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal*

life. The believing sinner, seeing himself thus redeemed, saved by mere grace, begins to love his Saviour, because he first was loved: and love for the Lord drives out of his heart love for the vanities of the world, and the fear of its menaces; so that the sinner becomes another man. He hates what he before loved, and loves what he hated: hence the source of those good works, which never fail to follow, as the effect of gratitude. Such is the feeble description that I am able to give you of Regeneration: but, as Jesus Christ says of the wind, John iii., that we *know not whence it cometh and whither it goeth*, but we *hear the sound thereof*; so every description is imperfect: nevertheless, in every case, he who is born of the Spirit knows that he is so, as we know that there is wind when we hear the sound of it." A long silence hereupon ensued.—Afterward, the Etchegua said to me: "When Jesus Christ died to save us, was it His humanity alone which died? or did His divinity also suffer death?" *Missionary*: "It is a question difficult to explain; and if the Word of God did not give me a spark of light upon it, I should consider myself both incapable and unworthy to answer you a single word: but St. Paul says to Timothy, that God is immortal; and St. Peter says, that Christ *hath suffered in the flesh*; whence I venture to conclude that it was only His humanity which suffered. Also, the whole of Scripture shows us the love of God toward us, in that He became man, that He might

be able to suffer and die for us." *The Etchegua* : "That is also our opinion ; but if it was only the humanity of Jesus Christ which died, what is it that was born of the Virgin Mary?" *Missionary* : "This question is also difficult, because the Bible does not express itself clearly upon it. There has been much trouble and confusion in the Church on this subject ; because men are always desirous to know more than what it has pleased God to reveal to us : however, hear my opinion, and you may then judge of it. It appears to me, that nothing is more natural than to believe that that which was born in time is what died. Then reason, simply of itself, tells us, that the mother must exist before the son ; but Mary did not exist before Jesus Christ as God, whence I conclude that it is a great error to call Mary 'the Mother of God,' with all the respect I have for her, the *highly favoured among women*. I think we ought to content ourselves with calling Mary 'the Mother of Jesus,' as the Apostles did." *The Etchegua* : "It is true ! it is true ! I had already had that thought."—I believe that none of the attendants expected such an answer ; at least, they appeared to be all beside themselves. The Etchegua further put several other questions to me, about England—France—our manner of celebrating Divine Service—Baptism—the Lord's Supper, &c. The Etchegua appeared very well satisfied with our conversation ; and, for myself, I never before expressed myself so easily in Amharic. Even at the present time,

the Lord gives a tongue to those who have it not. I gave the Etchegua a copy of the Four Gospels, and a copy of the Acts and of the Epistle to the Romans, in Amharic, with a copy of the Psalms in Ethiopic, all which he received with pleasure. Besides, I gave him five copies of the Four Gospels, to send to some of the districts beyond Gondar, at his discretion. This mark of confidence appeared to please him much.

On returning from the house of the Etchegua, I found Habeta Selasse, who came to my house with four of his fellow-disciples. We spoke of the worship of images, and of the invocation of saints. Habeta Selasse felt much for me, more than for the thing itself, when I said that Mary was a sinner, and that she was saved by the same grace which saves us; and, consequently, we ought neither to worship her nor to pray to her: but he said little. This evening, some persons called, who say that in the city nothing is talked of but the conversation of this morning at the Etchegua's.

April 25, 1830—This morning I had several visits; especially of young persons who begged me to take them with me, to instruct them. The Abyssinian Mission ought especially to have in view the education of young people; for it is almost impossible to change the least opinion of those of a more advanced age. There would be, probably, but one difficulty in establishing as many schools as masters could be found for;

which is, that, with the exception of a very small number, it would be necessary to feed and clothe the children that are taught; but, on the other hand, this would be the surest way to bring up children free from the prejudices and superstition of the country. I read to these young persons several passages from the Gospel, according to the turn of the conversation. Some were extremely surprised; and the greater part expressed a lively joy, when they perceived that every thing read to them was intelligible; because in the church they read only in a language, for the most part, unknown to the reader, and always so to the hearer. This afternoon, Habeta Selasse came to express to me the pain which he felt yesterday at hearing me say, in the presence of several persons, that Mary was a sinner. "I beg you," said he to me, "keep to yourself your own persuasion. You may dispute on every point in which you differ from the Abyssinians; but do not say that the Virgin was a sinner, otherwise you will make yourself many enemies. For my part, I confine myself to the opinion, that she never voluntarily sinned. There are two parties in Abyssinia in this respect: the weaker maintains that Mary was a sinner, like ourselves; but the Etchegua and Alaca Waldab cannot bear the idea of this; because they say, that if Mary was a sinner, the body which Jesus derived from her could not be perfectly pure; therefore I beg of you not to dispute on this point." I replied to him: "My dear

friend! I am very grateful for the interest which you take in my welfare; the more so, because on this point you think very nearly as I do; since you acknowledged, recently, that the passages of the Gospel which I pointed out to you proved that she was a sinner. You have not yet sufficiently received the spirit of liberty to confess it publicly; but do not require me to speak in a manner contrary to the persuasion of my heart. If it were not for the idolatrous worship, based upon the pretended sanctity inherent in an individual of the human race—if it were not," said I, "for the idolatrous worship which you pay to the Virgin and to the saints, I would avoid wounding any one's opinion, whoever it might be, in this respect: but now it is impossible for me to promise you more than this—that, for the present, I will not commence a controversy on this point; but, if any one asks me my opinion, whether the Etchegua or any other person, I will always frankly say what is my manner of thinking." His reply was, "I cannot require more; but express yourself as gently as possible." He afterward put several questions to me, on the nature of God—on the manner of the union of the divinity with the humanity in the person of Christ, &c.; but they were all questions too obscure for me to be able satisfactorily to reply to them. I always restricted myself to saying, "God has not revealed that to us in His Word; and it is impossible for us to

know any thing of God, but what it has pleased Him to make known to us."

This evening, Emmaha's mother-in-law told me that she had wished to speak to me during the day; but seeing me occupied all the day with people, she was afraid of tiring me. But, standing up before me, she said: "Tell me, I pray you, how can sinful man be justified before God?" I passed the evening in explaining this question to a dozen persons who were in my house. The Abyssinians use the same word for expressing "to be justified" and "to be saved."

April 26, 1830—This morning, Lej Oubea, uncle, but enemy of Dejaj Oubea, and now in sickness, sent for me to see him. As he is a man who has many friends, but likewise many powerful enemies, I thought it my duty to keep my distance, as much as I could without wounding his feelings: for this reason I spoke to him through my servant, as an interpreter; but, as when visiting the King, so here, I had an opportunity of seeing how useless a Missionary is who would preach the Gospel through an interpreter who is not himself a Christian. As long as worldly topics were the subject of conversation, my servant translated perfectly well; but when we came to clash with religious prejudices, he could not speak the truth, even though he knew that I understood him. However, he tried to render his translation unintelligible to me, by expressing himself in terms

of which he supposes me ignorant, and by speaking very fast. For example: Lej Oubea showed me an amulet, which he had carried about him for a long time; but said that he had not entire confidence in it, because he did not know what it consists of. It is written in Arabic. After having read it, I told him that it contained the first Surat of the Korân, and some other passages from the same book. *The Interpreter*: "They are excellent prayers, and many passages of the Word of God." *Missionary*: "Then follow prayers and salutations to Mahomed." The interpreter did not know how to translate this, on account of the name of Mahomed; but at last he said, "There are also some words of (or upon) Mahomed." *Missionary*: "It is a Mussulman amulet, and consequently you ought not on any account to carry it: and were it even a Christian one, it would be of no service to you." *The Interpreter*: "It is very good; and you may be assured, that, as long as you carry it, it will be of the greatest service to you." I could no longer contain myself, and said to him in Amharic: "This will profit you nothing, either for this life or for that which is to come. The Gospel is what you should read and follow, if you wish to be saved." I then retired.

On going out, I met a Judge, who held with both hands a copy of the Four Gospels (which I have distributed here), surrounded by some dozen servants. When the Abyssinians have a respect for any thing, however little it may be, they hold

it with both hands : for example, when a superior gives a glass of beer, or a mouthful of bread, &c. to an inferior, the inferior always receives it with both hands, even were it only a needle.

I was desirous to go to the house of Cantiba Cassai, whom I found surrounded by people, in the midst of the market. As soon as he saw me, he came to meet me, and, giving me his parasol, he reproached me for not having sent my servant to his house yesterday, or Saturday, to congratulate him on his prosperous return from an excursion which he made last week on the lands of Oubea, to pillage his enemy's district. "Do not be offended," I said to him, "if I rejoiced alone at my own house at your happy return : the reason is, that I would not congratulate you without knowing whether you were in the right or not." *Cassai* : "Yes : I had right on my side : it is on this account that God has brought me back in peace. I am no personal enemy to Oubea ; but some days ago there came one to plunder a village near Gondar, which is under my jurisdiction, and I only went to recover what belongs to me." *Missionary* : "I have just learnt so ; for which reason you see I was on my way personally to congratulate you on the happy result." *Cassai* : "You have always an answer : go to your own house, far from this wicked world. If it were not for the numerous suite that I am obliged to have everywhere, I should come every day to see you ; but do me the favour to visit me as often as

you can. You are always welcome." In going through the market, I had enough to do to answer all the people of every class, who came to salute me, and ask me if I remembered them. Many accompanied me to the door of my house, where the nephew of the Etchegua said, in the presence of others: "Instruction is not so good a thing as many people think: knowledge corrupts the heart." *Missionary*: "Why then did Jesus Christ say to the Apostles, *Go and teach all nations?* Matt. xxviii. 19. Is it that He wished their hearts should be corrupted?" *Ans.*: "Our father, the Etchegua, has good reason for saying that one cannot propose a question to Samuel, but he has a passage from the Bible ready to answer it."

April 27, 1830—We have had bad weather: I have not gone out, but have had several visits from the illiterate class, to whom I read various passages from the Gospel. Several priests came; but so ignorant and so worldly, that I was not able to make them understand any thing. I remark in general, in this country as in Egypt, that priests of this kind have their minds much more perverted, and are infinitely inferior in discernment to the most clownish peasants. Priests of this sort have at the same time cunning enough to hide their ignorance from the more simple, and, by a shrewd effrontery, maintain their credit among a small number of idiots who keep acquaintance with them. There are many persons who, although without education, know how to

distinguish this sort of priests from those who are more capable of instructing them, or at least more conscientious ; but it is not often, till after having smarted by experience, that they come to this point. For instance ; to-day, when these priests were at a distance, the wife of Emmaha said to me, " You have done well to speak severely to them." *Missionary* : " Why ?" *Ans.* : " Because these are useless priests." *Missionary* : " Are not all priests useful, according to their abilities ?" *Ans.* : " I thought so formerly ; and I did not in any respect doubt the superior sanctity of all the priests without exception, till experience convinced me of the contrary." This woman unites in herself nearly all the virtues which can exist without education — patience, submission, even toward those who should have no authority over her, pity for the miserable, filial love, uprightness, activity, with an ever-cheerful spirit. She procures every thing for me that I have need of, with more care than if it were for herself : for example ; to save the least expense, she will often go more than a mile distant to buy what she might buy in the neighbourhood. The other day, I told her that she fatigued herself much for me. To which she replied : " It is not for you ; for when you came to me, I knew you not : it is because the Lord recommends hospitality toward strangers. The only thing which occupies my mind seriously, and which often gives me uneasiness when I think on my unworthiness, is, the desire to be saved." At

another time she said: "You now see me poor; but I have not been always so. In the time of Ras Walda Selasse, my husband, his nephew, was a great man; but after his death, all disappeared. At present, if my husband did not live always in the hope of again becoming great, we might be very much at our ease. My father and my mother were of good families. I have immense lands, some of the most fertile in the country, in the neighbourhood of Gondar, and in the provinces of Dembea and Balessa. The lands of three villages belong to me, with smaller portions; but in the present state of trouble and plunder, being only a female, I am unable to direct the cultivation of them. If, on the contrary, my husband were with me, to make them valuable, we should be in want of nothing. He begged me to go with him into Tigré, but I could not leave my mother alone: besides that, if I went, it would not be to be with him, because he is more than half the time travelling in the service of Sebagadis. I should there be only more miserable."

April 28, 1830—This morning I went to the house of Cantiba Cassai; but he left yesterday, with all his soldiers, for the province of Dembea. I have not been able to ascertain the cause; but I suppose it to be fear; for yesterday evening all the city was in alarm, without my knowing any thing about it till this morning. All those who have a little property have retired with their moveables into the Etchegua's quarter, or into

the churches. The same fear is entertained for this evening. The cause of it is, that the Governor of the district which Cantiba Cassai pillaged last week has called Dejj Sedat to aid him in revenging it. Dejj Sedat governs a vast district to the west of Walcait, which is independent. They say that he is a noted warrior; every body fears him; and there is nothing, perhaps, that he so much desires as an occasion of plunder, although he has the reputation of being a brave man, and of governing his district well. Gondar cannot resist, and consequently every body expects to see the city plundered one of these days.

At noon, Habeta Selasse came to see me. We entered, for the first time, into regular conversation on the invocation of the saints. Speaking of faith, I said to him that there was very little faith in Abyssinia.* *Habeta Selasse*: "How do you prove it?" *Missionary*: "I do not wish to prove it by the bad works of the ignorant: I wish to prove it by a part of your religion itself. Lately, during the fire, I everywhere heard cries of 'St. Michael!' 'St. George!' 'Abuna Tecla Haimanot!' and only here and there a cry of 'Lord God!' If there were faith in God, men would call upon Him in the day of trouble, as He commands, Psalm 1." *Habeta Selasse*: "We believe that the saints intercede for us; and because they are particularly beloved of God, He listens favourably to them in

* The Abyssinians always say that they have faith, but that they have not works.

our behalf." *Missionary*: "When you invoke, for example, St. Michael, do you believe that he will be present everywhere to hear you, supposing that he can help you?" *Habeta Selasse*: "He is not present everywhere; but as soon as he is invoked, he comes to listen." *Missionary*: "When thousands invoke him at the same time in all parts of the world, can he hear them all?" *Habeta Selasse*: "I do not know what to say. No; for if he heard them all at the same time, he would be God; but God lets him know, and Himself does what was asked of the saint." *Missionary*: "That is to say, you honour the servant in order that the Master may serve you!" *Habeta Selasse*: "No; but God has entered into a covenant with the saints, that He receives the honour which is paid to them as if it were to Himself, on account of their union with Him." *Missionary*: "You have not any proof of that in the Word of God." *Habeta Selasse*: "Did not Jesus Christ say to His Apostles, that whatever good shall be done to them, He considers it as done to Himself?" *Missionary*: "Yes; and He says the same thing of the least of His brethren, of the feeblest Christian; but that only refers to those who are upon the earth; for the saints who are in heaven have no need of us. Besides, He nowhere says that he who invokes the creatures, invokes thereby the Creator Himself: on the contrary, St. Paul upbraids men in this respect, for having robbed the Creator of His honour, to give it to the creature: Romans i." *Habeta*

Selasse: "We invoke the saints, because we are sinners, defiled, and consequently unworthy to present ourselves before God. Did not the Children of Israel beg of Moses to speak for them, and that God should not speak to them directly?"

Missionary: "Who were they that thus entreated Moses?—to say nothing of the difference which there is between a man present and a Spirit absent." *Habeta Selasse*: "The Children of Israel."

Missionary: "Those whose bodies fell in the Wilderness. And why could they not enter into the Promised Land? What says St. Paul to the Hebrews about this?" *Habeta Selasse*: "Because of their unbelief."

Missionary: "You imitate unbelievers, then: is not that just what I say?"

Habeta Selasse: "It is true! If we had more faith, we should expect every thing from God; but when one of the common people wishes to present himself before a king, to ask him some favour, is it not fitting that he should present himself through one of his favourites?"

Missionary: "Yes; but what do you conclude from that?"

Habeta Selasse: "We believe that it is becoming also in us to seek to be recommended to God by the intercession of the saints; and it is on that account that we pray to them?"

Missionary: "Your argument appears plausible, at first sight.

It appears even to proceed from humility; although it proceeds solely from unbelief, as I am going to prove to you. It is also the principal argument of the Franks, and of all the sects who

put their trust in the intercession of saints : for this reason, I pray you to listen attentively to me, and I will prove to you that even this argument will show you to be unbelievers, and without the knowledge of God. First, who is it that needs the intercession of a servant to present himself to a great man? It is one who is a stranger, who knows him not, and is not known of him. Hence, so it is among the great men of this world ; because they are shut up in their houses, and you cannot approach them, nor get an audience, unless by passing through those avenues the custody of which is confided to their servants. It is not thus with God ; for you must, so to speak, pass Him, to come at the saints. Suppose, for a moment, that the king of whom you speak were here with you in this room ; and that he said to you, ' My dear friend ! I wish you no evil. I desire your greatest good. Tell me all that is in your heart, all that troubles you, and I will fulfil your desires. Address me freely ; I am your brother.' If you turned your back upon him, to call one of his servants, even his favourite, and said to him, ' My lord, I pray you to intercede for me to your master !' would not this servant himself become your accuser ? and his master, far from favourably regarding you, would he not charge you with contempt of his word, and of the most unworthy unbelief ?" *Habeta Selasse* : " I admit it." *Missionary* : " Well, you judge your own self, for you admit that God is present where-

ever you are: is it not so?" *Habeta Selasse*: "Yes." *Missionary*: "You admit, also, that the saints are not present everywhere?" *Habeta Selasse*: "Yes." *Missionary*: "God tells us, in His Word, that He willeth not the death of a sinner, but that he be converted and live. Jesus is called, *the Friend of sinners*, Luke xv. 2. *The Brother of men*, Heb. ii. 11. He invites those who *labour and are heavy laden* to come to Him, with a promise that He will relieve them, and cause them to *find rest for their souls*: and, that no one may believe himself out of this number, He says elsewhere, *Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out*. What completes your condemnation, is this passage from St. Paul to Timothy: *There is one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus*." *Habeta Selasse*: "This never occurred to me. Yes; I confess that the invocation of the saints is a want of faith, and even a sin, for those who are more enlightened; but when it is done from love to God, that is not bad; for the chief point is love to God." *Missionary*: "I only wished to prove to you your unbelief; but, since you lead me to it, I will still further prove to you, both from the Word of God and from experience, that the invocation of saints is a want of love to God; because He says to us in St. John, that He who loveth Him keepeth His word; and His word invites us to go to Jesus, and cast *all our care on Him*; and not to the saints; because, *Cursed is the man that trusteth in man*.

Experience also teaches you, that when you love any one, especially when you are persuaded that he loves you, it is not with his servants that you love to hold conversation, when you may keep company with him: it is not from his servants that you expect help; it is from himself." *Habeta Selasse*: "You beat me on every point. I only came to see you, and to return immediately to assist in the lecture which Alaca Waldab is giving at this moment. I must go. Adieu!"

April 29, 1830—I was engaged in paying visits of ceremony till noon; afterward I received many of the same kind, at which I caused several chapters of the Gospel to be read. A member of the royal family, Tecla Selasse, related to me a great part of the history of the Kings of Abyssinia, and the imprisonment of the members of the Royal Family; but the whole may be seen in Bruce and Ludolf. For about the last thirty years they have not been subject to imprisonment.

April 30—All the forenoon I had my house full of people, with several priests, who put various questions to me: among others, this, which is always one of the first questions of the priests; namely, on which of the four principal Apostolic Sees we are dependent. I replied, as I always reply to this question, that St. Paul upbraided the Corinthians for saying, *I am of Paul, I of Apollos, &c.* "In the same manner, this division of Sees, and the pretended sanctity attached to

any See whatever, and attachment to one or to another, are worldly and carnal things. Every man who possesses the spirit which animated St. Peter does the works of St. Peter; and consequently he is the true successor of St. Peter, in whatever country of the world he may be; and it is the same with the other Apostles. But every bishop or priest who has an opposite spirit, is an enemy of God, and a servant of Satan, notwithstanding the pretended sanctity of his See." They all looked at one another, saying, "He is right!" Then one of the priests said to me: "The bishops are not simple, and detached from the world, as the Apostles were. It is you who are the successor of the Apostles: for they went into foreign countries, to proclaim the Word of God; and you are come into our country, to bring us the Gospel: it is the same work." I replied, that I was very far from daring to compare myself to the Apostles; "but I find that they tell us in their writings to follow them, as they followed Jesus Christ; and I desire to obey, well persuaded that whoever does not seek to imitate them is in the road to perdition." They afterward asked me if our churches bore the name of some saint, as St. George, &c. I replied, that formerly, when our fathers were in ignorance, they consecrated, as is done here, the churches to saints; but that we have learnt, from the Word of God, that all the saints and angels are servants like us, and that the least religious homage that is paid to

any other than God is an act of idolatry—a sin ; for this reason our churches are consecrated to God, as also are all the days of the year. I then gave a copy of the Gospel to Alaca Fanta, who appeared extremely rejoiced at it. I took occasion from this to exhort all the priests present to teach nothing but the Word of God in matters of Religion ; representing to them, how dangerous it is to follow human doctrines in an affair of so great importance, because on the doctrine we embrace depends the eternal salvation or perdition of our souls. As soon as my house was empty, I went to Cantiba Cassai's, whom I found distributing a little basket of barley-bread to his soldiers : each received scarcely a mouthful. He himself told me, that he suffered hunger in order to be able to give something to his servants to eat. When I returned, I asked my servants if they were hungry : it was about three o'clock in the afternoon, and we had as yet tasted nothing. One of them replied, " When we went out to go to Cassai's, I thought I was hungry ; but now that I have seen what hunger is, I feel no appetite." While I was speaking to my neighbour at Cassai's, Cassai had much conversation about me with his people. He said very softly to them, " How think you ? When I see this man, I am always in doubt whether he is truly a man, or whether he is not an angel. I have seen many Whites ; but I have never seen one like this." Another said : " If I met with him, alone, in the country, I should

take to flight, or I should die with fear." A third added: "These locks flowing upon his shoulders, this long red beard, and this white countenance, render him truly superior to the Archangel Michael!"

May 1, 1830—Much rain has fallen: I did not go out; and received no visit, except from Habeta Selasse, who passed some hours with me during the rain. Our principal conversation related to fasting. He comprehended, at length, that fasting may be useful when it is voluntary; when we are induced to fast from a lively feeling of our misery—a feeling so strong as to prevent us from taking pleasure in any thing of this world; and when it is accompanied with prayer to God for those things of which we feel the want for ourselves or for other men: but that when fasting is made a meritorious work before God, in whatever degree, it is a sin; and that in this respect the fasts of Abyssinia are usually criminal before God.—This brought us to the great point of Justification by faith. The Abyssinians are far from being so much opposed to this doctrine as the Papists, the Greeks, &c. in theory; in practice, the heart of man always opposes the same resistance to it. Habeta Selasse said nothing which could be regarded as directly contrary to this doctrine; but, notwithstanding this, he is not yet clear upon it. He reverences St. Paul, and would not wish to contradict him: but, in spite of all the explanations which one may give, this saving doctrine is

never received in its true sense, till the sinner has the experience of it in himself.

On account of the rain, there was nothing in the market till very late this afternoon; we had therefore nothing to eat till night: but for the space of an hour every thing was as cheap in the city as in a time of plenty. I took advantage of this season to buy a young ox, two years old, for a dollar. Things have no fixed price at Gondar: every thing is dear or cheap, according as the market of to-day (Saturday) is furnished.

May 2: Sunday—I passed the day alone, reading the Bible. I had no visits, excepting one for a short time from Habeta Selasse. He complained of the long explanations which people make on the Bible, in places where the sense is as clear as day. We had no connected conversation; but we read together several chapters of the Gospel.

May 3—This morning, Ozoro Waleta Teclit sent for me very early, to go and see her brother, who went mad some time ago. This woman is at present the first lady in Gondar. She is sister to the deceased Dejaj Marou, and mother of the young warrior Dejaj Comfou, who governs the provinces of Couara and Dembea. This good woman has put nearly all the priests of Gondar in requisition to pray for her brother, in order to cast out the demon that possesses him. There are always some priests engaged in reading around him; but they have the good sense to accompany their readings with a supply of cold water, which

they throw continually on his breast in abundance. When I saw him the other day, I told his sister that I did not look upon him as possessed, but that I attributed his indiposition to excess of blood. She shook her head, as did also the monks and nuns who surrounded her. I took no offence, but only added, that if she would persuade him to let himself be bled, I was ready to do it whenever she might wish. She has now tried for three days the reading of the priests, who all said that he was possessed. Seeing that they made no progress, she sent for me yesterday morning ; but I refused to go, not only because it was Sunday, but also to let her see that I was not eager to set myself up against the priests, in a matter of this kind. I told her, at the same time, that I would go to-day, if she wished it. This morning she sent to me three of her servants together, to beg of me to go and see her brother, and to do with him whatever I pleased. I went; and, in order to gain his confidence, I began by saying to him, "Every body has made your sister believe that you are possessed: I am the only one who says the contrary. They want to prove to me that you are possessed, because your eyes are red and overcharged; but if you will permit me to draw a little blood from you, I will prove to them that you are no more possessed than they are: it is only the quantity of blood which thus surcharges your eyes." He immediately made his exorcists go out; and said to me: "You are

my only friend: do with me whatever you please: I have perfect confidence in you." I immediately bled him; and I think he never was so much delighted in his life, as on being able to spirt some drops of his blood on the bystanders. When he had lost about a pound of blood, the ladies present fell to weeping, and saying that it was enough; but, on his seeing that this displeased me, he said to them, with an imperious tone: "Hold your tongues! My friend alone knows what is right for me; and I feel in myself that this has done me good." I took from him three or four pounds of blood; and when he was on the point of fainting, I made him lie down on the bed, recommending his people to let him rest.

This afternoon I had a visit from a servant of the King of Shoa, who has already been several times to see me. He came to bid me adieu, before setting off to-morrow, to go to his master. I sent him a copy of the Four Gospels, and a copy of the Acts and the Epistle to the Romans, for the King Sehela Selasse, with a short letter. I also gave him a copy of the Four Gospels for himself, with permission to give it to whom he liked, only that it should be in the kingdom of Shoa. I also gave the Gospel to one of the relatives of the King, who comes every day to see me.

May 4, 1830—This morning, at break of day, Ozoro Waleta Teclit sent for me: when I entered her house, she said to me, in the presence of all, "I have sent for you to testify my gratitude

for the good you have done to my brother. Since you saw him yesterday, he is as reasonable, in what he says to me, as if he had never lost his senses. Now, whatever you direct me to do, I will do it. Do you think he may be unchained without danger?" *Missionary*: "I think that the quantity of blood was the cause of his malady; but I assure you that I did not bleed him without prayer, and especially not without asking of God that He would cause you to see that the word of the priests is not always the truth. Take this (presenting her the Gospel): see here, where you may learn to know the truth." She kissed it several times. I then said to her: "I have not seen your brother since yesterday morning; but, at all events, I do not advise you to have him unchained till you have seen him; for, in his indisposition, you were particularly the object of his hatred." *Ozoro*: "You have enjoined me a painful task; for I know that he will load me with reproaches before all the world; but since you wish it, I will do it." She then commanded all to go out, and said to me: "You are the only one who has understood my brother's malady: I have therefore the greater confidence in you. I often have bad head-aches, which almost take away my senses; so that at times I am obliged to conceal myself, for fear of being accused of madness. Do you not think that bleeding would do me good?" *Missionary* (after having questioned her on the causes of her complaint): "Bleeding is not, perhaps, what would

be prescribed for you in Europe ; but it could do you no harm." *Ozoro*: "Well, I beg of you to come again to-morrow morning." I afterward went to see her brother, whom I found much better. He begged me to bleed him once more ; and he especially entreated me to cause him to be unchained. I promised him to have his hands untied to-morrow morning ; and that if I find him well, I will cause his feet to be untied after to-morrow. *Ans.*: "Do so: I promise you not to commit any folly. I was beside myself ; but since you have bled me, my senses are as good as before." Thence I went to the Etchegua's, whom I found alone. We were on the point of entering into an interesting conversation ; when several Judges coming in interrupted us, on the subject of a law-suit. The Etchegua told me, that when he can be alone he will be sure to send for me.

As soon as I had returned to the house, a party of boys came to beg me to give them a copy of the Gospel, in order that their master might instruct them in the doctrine of Jesus Christ. I gave them a short exhortation ; and sent them back with a copy of the Gospel, which they had asked for. There was just at that moment a poor man with me, who, trembling, took occasion to ask me for the Gospel, in order that he might instruct his children. On receiving it, he kissed it several times, and could not sufficiently express his joy at having at last found the object of his most ardent desire.

While I am writing, the soldiers of Mariam are passing by the side of my house, to lodge at Gondar. The soldiers are so many thieves, under the government of Mariam. Every body is in alarm. The people of the house are transporting my goods into the church: for myself, I am waiting to see, as from the Lord, what the night may bring forth.

May 5, 1830—Last night, almost all the inhabitants of the city slept in the churches; but the soldiers, who were passing yesterday evening, did not stop: meanwhile, all the goods and provisions remain in the churches.

This morning I went to Ozoro Waleta Teclit, to bleed her; but because no one could discern the vein, all her servants opposed it: I myself had no great inclination for it, and yet I succeeded very well; which caused some to say that they were in doubt whether I were not the Archangel Michael. She then begged me to go and see her brother, and to call again at her house on my return. I went, and found him in his right mind: however, I bled him again, because he desired it. This morning he drove away all the priests; saying to them, that it was they and his sister that had driven him mad. "When my sister caused me to be chained," said he to me, "I was not mad—I was drunk; but seeing every body regard me as a madman, and especially having my house always full of priests, who exorcised me day and night, I confess to you that

I became so, and that I was not in my right senses when you saw me the first time: but since a madman is not trusted immediately after his cure, I no longer ask to be untied at present: I only pray you to tell my sister to lengthen my chain a little, in order that I may change my position freely. I do not know on what footing I am with my sister: she never chained me till I said that I would go to Mariam; because I know that she and her son have rendered themselves guilty of treason. She feared, perhaps, lest I should make the Ras acquainted with it; and she may have judged it convenient to make me pass for a madman, in order that the Ras might not believe me: however, say nothing about it: only say to my sister, that if she will but restore me the government of the province which she has had taken from me, she may reckon upon my brotherly affection. She had some reason for depriving me of this province, because I was the friend of her son's enemy."

This afternoon, I went to see Ozoro Waleta Teclit. She had her house full of people, to whom she said that the bleeding had done her good. Every one now had a malady. All of them, great and small, wished me to bleed them. As there were some persons to whom I could only speak by an interpreter, I merely said a few words, to exhort them to feel their spiritual maladies, and to seek the cure of them in the blood of the New Covenant.

May 6 — To-day, the priest who teaches the boys

to whom I gave the Gospel the other day, came, with several of his pupils, to thank me for it. I exhorted them all to seek the way of salvation in the Word of God alone. Afterward an Alaca came, with whom I had a long conversation on the distinction which ought to be made between the Word of God and the writings of men. He then put several questions to me on our manner of celebrating Divine Service; among other points, the Lord's Supper. I interrogated him on the article of Transubstantiation; and he replied, as others had already done: "After the bread and the wine have been blessed, we call them the body and the blood of Jesus Christ, in order not to confound them with common bread and wine; but we do not believe that the nature of them is changed; we only believe that the communicants spiritually receive Jesus Christ." While we were conversing together, Habeta Selasse came, with some priests, very downcast, because nothing is spoken of in the city but war and enmity. "It is," he said, "on account of our sins that the country is full of trouble and misery. We have many books, and yet the people are ignorant. There are about three hundred persons at Gondar able to read, but we are just as wicked as the ignorant. The first Christians had not so many books, and yet they were much better than we are: the single truth, that *the Word was made flesh*, was sufficient to inspire love to God and their neighbour." *Missionary*: "Formerly our

fathers neglected, like you, the Word of God, to follow human doctrines; and the country was all ignorance, corruption, and misery: but since we have received the Word of God as the only rule of our faith and practice, God has shed abroad blessings of every kind upon the country. Among us, also, a vast number walk in the broad road of perdition; but God blesses a country for the sake of the faithful who dwell in it: (Genesis xv.) Whenever the nominal Christians of a country put the works of men on a level with the Word of God, they become a prey to corruption and misery; and it will be thus in Abyssinia, as long as you confound human doctrines with the Word of God." *Habeta Selasse*: "Yet we do not receive what is contrary to the Word of God." *Missionary*: "I have already proved to you, that in the writings of men, especially since the fourth century, there are, in general, errors, particularly in your Oudasse Mariam of Ephraim. At present, I wish only to make use of one argument, to show you the cause of the temporal and spiritual misery of the country. Supposing even that there were nothing in the writings of the doctors of the Church directly opposed to the Word of God, you yourselves confess that they contain many things which are not in the Bible; and you have no proof that these novelties are divinely inspired. You are therefore, at the least, obliged to doubt; but doubt is the opposite of that faith by which we overcome the world. See, for example,

Chrysostom, one of the best, and one whom I much respect: did you not confess, the other day, that there are to be found many traces of self-love, perhaps of pride, in his writings; not to mention his ideas, so opposite to the declarations of St. Paul, on Free-will? Did you not confess, also, that in the writings of Cyril of Alexandria there is at least a carnal zeal and a spirit of persecution? This ought to prove to you that their writings, however good and useful in other respects, are not the Word of God, but the words of men. Now, the word of man does not penetrate the heart; does not change it: it is but the feeble expression of a powerless being. But the Word of God is *quick, and sharper than any two-edged sword*: it penetrates the heart, illumines the mind, and is alone able to correct, to instruct, and to make man *wise to salvation*. Now, do you not understand, that the cause of all the miseries of Abyssinia consists in this, that the people are not instructed in the Word of God?" *The Priests*: "It is true!" *Habeta Selasse*: "You had already shaken my confidence in the writings of men; but your present remark has convinced me, that, even when these writings are good, they have not, like the Bible, the power of converting the heart, and making man good."

As soon as the priests were retired, *Habeta Selasse* said to me: "Ever since you spoke to me of Missions, I feel constantly as if I ought to go and preach the Gospel to the Gallas. You return

to your own country; but you have told me that you will come back in about a year. I will wait for you here. Hasten to come back: it is with you that I should wish to go as a Missionary among the Gallas. If we went there together, we could not fail of success. The Gallas are good people; they know nothing; we should not have to pull down, before building. They love instruction; and are disposed to believe, when any one speaks to them of the Gospel. They are not like the Abyssinians!" I afterward had several visits: among others, one from an interesting young man, to whom I gave the Gospel. He has for a long time come to me daily, to beg a copy of it.

May 7, 1830—To-day is a true winter's day: during the week past, much rain has fallen. I wished to return to Tigré before winter; but the armies of Mariam and Oubea are on their march, so that it is impossible to travel. I had a visit from two servants of Beleta Darcopti. They tell me, that at Debra Tabor, when the Governor of Gojam saw the copies of the Gospel sent by me, he burst into tears; and said to Beleta Darcopti, "Why do you fear to bring here a man who has brought us the Gospel in our language? So far from any harm happening to him, if you had brought him here, I would have borne him on my shoulders above all dangers."

May 8—Yesterday evening there was a little affliction in my house. The daughter of Emmaha fell suddenly into terrible convulsions: she lost

her senses also, and, besides shaking every limb, uttered cries somewhat like the howling of the hyæna ; from which all the bystanders concluded that she was under the influence of *boudas* (sorcerers); for the general opinion of the Abyssinians is, that the greater part of the hyænas are sorcerers metamorphosed. I told them that she was no more under the influence of *boudas* than myself. A priest who was present was, at first, of my opinion on this point ; but he insinuated that it was an evil spirit that had entered into her. At first, they set about beating this poor girl, as if to drive out the demon, or for something else that I was ignorant of ; but I could not bear the sight of it. I drove out all the people, except her mother ; and at the end of about an hour she was well. A little before, they had given me several amulets to read ; which I declared vain, and more prejudicial than useful. During the illness of the daughter, I saw plainly enough that the mother considered she had done wrong in submitting her amulets to my judgment : but when her daughter was well, she said to me : " If you had not been here, an amulet-writer would without doubt have cheated me out of four or five dollars." The more I see of ignorant people, the more I am astonished that Europeans, who pretend to have sound reason, can maintain that ignorant people are happier than others. When the Abyssinians, and in general all the Blacks that I have hitherto seen, are well, they are of a sprightly character ;

but when they are indisposed they are doubly miserable, from the idea that they are under the influence of sorcerers and evil spirits. It certainly is not without the keenest anguish that a poor Abyssinian will give as much as ten dollars for an amulet, after having, for a long time and with trembling, served a capricious master to earn them. The Abyssinians believe that all the Falashas or Jews, many Mussulmans, and some Christians, are sorcerers; yet the Mussulmans and many Falashas are as much frightened, as the Christians are, about the boudas.

Since my arrival at Gondar, I have not yet been able to see a Falasha. I have already begged several persons to bring me one who is able to read. They said, "Yes;" but, afterward, always found excuses. All that I have been able to learn of them is, that they are ignorant: there are very few of them able to read. It is said that they have no books but the Old Testament in Ethiopic. A priest told me, the other day, that they came into Abyssinia after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. They also regard as boudas (sorcerers) a small pagan people called Camaountes, who inhabit the mountains in the neighbourhood of Gondar. The men very rarely come to Gondar: the women bring wood there on the Saturdays. They have immense earrings, of iron and other metals, when they are young; and, in consequence, their ears hang down to their shoulders. Nothing is known of the

secrets of their religion, any more than of the Druses of Mount Lebanon. What is singular, is, that in their language the word "Druse" means "Lord." They almost all speak Amharic. I have already manifested my wish to go and see them, as well as the Falashas; but nobody will accompany me, on account of the banditti that are about the environs of Gondar.

I had a long conversation with Alaca Waca, on the justification of a sinner before God. Like others with whom I have already spoken on this subject, he is not so much opposed to the doctrine of Justification by faith as the priests and other sects; but his views are not clear. The passage of St. James, chap. ii., confounds him. I explained it to him, and cited several passages from St. Paul. He said, that I was right; but I plainly saw that it was no power of mine that could bring him to the light. Afterward, I had a visit from a friend of Oubea, Lic Atecou, who has just arrived this morning from Antchateab. He told me that he had seen the Gospel which I had given to Oubea, when passing near Gondar; and that, on setting out, he had resolved to come and see me, before making any other visit in the city. He stopped only a moment; but told me, that he would call again often, as he desired to converse with me on several points.

May 9, 1830: Sunday—All the day I have had people in my house, from day-break till night; because it is known that I never go out on

Sundays. I know not whether or no it were the state of my own heart that directed all our conversations to the subject of Justification by faith. Men and women almost all asked me, how the sinner can be justified before God. I always replied by citing passages from the Bible which speak on the point, adding explanations when needed. The Epistle to the Romans is of great service to me.

This morning a woman came, who thus related to me her misery:—"Seven months ago," she said to me, "I was a great lady; but they imprisoned my son, and took from me all that I had; since which, I have been constantly an invalid. Have you not, perhaps, some medicine suited to me?" I told her, that I had not brought medicine with me; but that I advised her to ask from God the consolation which she needs. To which she replied, weeping: "I have already asked Him; but He refuses me, because I am laden with sins." I exhorted her to persevere in asking for the pardon of her sins from God, and to seek the remedy of her spiritual maladies in the sufferings of Christ.

May 10—This morning I went to the house of Ozoro Waleta Teclit, to make the acquaintance of her son, Dejaj Comfou. The house was full of people, who all manifested great friendship for me: there were present almost all the nobility of Gondar. My watch very much amused them, as well as my hair and my beard. Thence I went to the

Etchegua, who made many excuses for not being able to furnish me with every thing that I want, because the armies, passing and repassing this year, have ruined his fields. I replied, that up to this time I have wanted nothing; and that I hope the ten dollars which still remain will suffice, till the Lord opens me a way to return to Tigré. At present, nobody can pass, not even the priests. He then put several questions to me, on diseases, and on medicine. I often wished to turn the conversation to spiritual maladies and medicine; but, as often as I thought I had made a beginning, some one entered to draw off our attention. I returned quite sad. While I was at his house, he gave two, out of the four copies of the Gospels which I had sent him, to two Heads of a convent near Gondar. He recommended the reading of them, in the presence of many others; and in this respect I rejoice at not having come in vain to Gondar.

I then went to Alaca Stephanos; where I found a Falasha, who was very much surprised to hear that there were Jews in other places besides Abyssinia. He was so ignorant, that I could learn nothing from him worthy of attention; but he promised to bring me a man who is able to read. I made him pronounce some words of their language; but I only found the single word **אחד** (*one*) which was Hebrew.

Immediately on my return home, the house was filled with people; among others were two priests,

who from time to time put several questions, sometimes for further explanations, and sometimes to turn the conversation on the ceremonies of the Church. I spoke to them concerning the necessity of Regeneration, at an age when a man is capable of believing, after having heard the Word of God—against the general opinion of the country, that the baptism of water is Regeneration itself—concerning the operations of the Holy Spirit in the heart of man—of the nature of saving faith—of the necessity of knowing the Word of God, as the sole rule of our faith and practice—of Predestination, &c. On this last point the priests made only this single remark: “God knew from all eternity what would be the works of believers; for this reason, He elected them, before the creation of the world, to be saved.” This led me to speak of the sin there is in attributing the least merit to the works of man. This observation confounds Abyssinians as well as Europeans, and they make the same objections. There was a young man present, who seemed to devour all that I said. I gave the Gospel to a young man of Dembea, who has been following me everywhere for the last fortnight. To-day he said to me: “I yesterday learnt that you had given the Gospel to a young man of Damot. It is now a long time that I have been wishing to ask you for a copy; but I supposed that you sold them, and I have nothing in the world to buy with; no, not so much as to eat. Now, do not be

offended if I take the liberty of asking you for a copy. I have three brothers, beside my father, who all desire, with me, to know the Gospel." I gave him a copy; and when he had kissed it several times, he wished to kiss my feet; but I would not permit it. He then said to me, with tears in his eyes, "Now I have what I desired, I can return to my house. For these fifteen days I have suffered hunger, in the hope of obtaining this treasure!"—I had no time to-day to take any refreshment till night, excepting two glasses of mead, at the house of Ozoro Waleta Teclit.

May 11, 1830—This morning, at day-break, there came a priest, accompanied by a monk, who has travelled over the whole of Abyssinia. He told me that he had made a journey of three weeks to the south of Shoa, right across the country of the Gallas; and that he had there found a little country of Christians, beyond whom is a people called Caffre. A young Mussulman present, told me that he had travelled much in the interior, and that at a month's journey to the w. s. w. of Shoa he had found a little Christian empire, who have a particular language, called Sidama, and books.—The monk began by speaking to me of the love of Christ, immediately on entering. He told me, that he often reproved the Etchegua, and the priests of this place, because they are much more attached to the world than to the Lord. In short, he strongly advised me not to trust myself to the Abyssinians, on account of

their hypocrisy. He added: "Do nothing for the temporal good of the Abyssinians, otherwise they will devour you. Confine yourself to distributing the Gospel, and to preaching Christ." I conceived a friendship for him, although he seemed to me somewhat self-righteous. When he was gone out, some one said: "He is a *sebâqui* (preacher)", with a certain air of disdain.

I afterward went to Kidam Mariam's; with whom I had a long conversation on the Confession of sins, in the presence of several persons. I told him, as I usually do, when they touch on this point, that the confession of sins to a priest would be useful, if the priest should limit himself to exhorting, teaching, and leading sinful men to Christ, to obtain from Him the pardon of their sins; but that the moment the priest makes them believe he has authority to forgive sins, provided they submit to the penance which he imposes—a penance most frequently foreign to the Word of God—confession becomes the cause of the ignorance, depravity, and misery, that we see in Abyssinia. "When the fear of men takes place of the fear of God, faith and love are annihilated. Now, not to cite examples that I have seen here, bearing on the point, I appeal to your own experience: When you do evil, do you not more fear your father confessor than God?" *Kidam Mariam*: "I confess that it is often the case; but, still, that is a good thing: for often, when the fear of God would not have hindered me from committing a

bad action, the fear of my father confessor has hindered me." *Missionary*: "This is a very fine gloss on a very bad disposition: it is as if you said, in other terms: 'I often do not mind offending God, provided that I do not offend the priest;' and that is a good thing!" *Kidam Mariam*: "You hit too hard!" *Missionary*: "Not to speak of all the grievous consequences of confession and absolution, such as they are in your country, I will confine myself to saying, that the moment you believe that the priest's absolution is necessary to salvation, you despise the merits of Christ, and you make God a liar; for He tells us, in His Word, that *the blood of Jesus Christ, His Son, cleanseth us from ALL SIN.*" This brought about a conversation on the doctrine of salvation by the alone grace of God in Jesus Christ, to which he did not object any thing. *Kidam Mariam* is the most intelligent Abyssinian that I have hitherto seen: he speaks Arabic well.—I afterward went to the Mussulmans' quarter; but it seems as if some supernatural influence cuts short my words, when I enter into the house of a Mussulman. I always go out sad. In the afternoon, I read the Gospel with some persons who came to see me.

May 12, 1830—Yesterday evening, after sunset, several soldiers were seen to pass the side of my house: my people immediately set about removing the goods into the church. In about half an hour, lamentable cries were heard from all quarters: the soldiers were pillaging the neighbourhood.

My servant, and those of Emmaha, were preparing for immediate resistance; but I told them not to make use of their arms, except in defence of life, and especially not to fire a shot. I remained alone in the house, as quiet as any other day; but I do not know whether it resulted from simple confidence in God, or whether it may not have been mixed with a little stoicism: we had no need, however, either of arms or of stoicism, for the soldiers did not approach our house. They are not hostile soldiers; but they are almost dying from hunger and nakedness.

This morning, Habeta Selasse, and an old priest, came in, and interrupted a conversation on medicine, in which I was engaged with Tecla Selasse, grandson of King Tecla Haimanot. Habeta Selasse said to me: "Tell me plainly, once for all, what is your belief on the point which is the principal subject of our disputes: When it is said that Jesus Christ was anointed of the Holy Spirit, what does that mean?" *Missionary*: "We can only know, on this subject, what the Word of God teaches us. But it seems to me, by the passage in St. Luke, iv. 18, *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, &c.*, that that only refers to the mission of Jesus as Christ, anointed to be Prophet, Priest, and King. *He has sent me to preach the Gospel to the poor; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord*—there is the Prophet: *To heal the broken-hearted; to preach recovering of sight to the blind*—there is the Priest: *To proclaim liberty to the*

captives; and to set at liberty them that are bruised— there is the King. The Copts say that Jesus anointed Himself, and that He had no need of the assistance of the Holy Spirit: this is directly contrary to the Word of God, Acts x. 38. The people of Tigré say, that the anointing of Jesus Christ means only that the Holy Spirit wrought the union of divinity with humanity in the person of Christ; but that does away with the typical sense of the anointing of prophets, priests, and kings, under the Old Covenant; and yet the Prophetic Spirit calls Jesus Christ a Prophet, Deuteronomy xviii. 15; a Priest, Psalm cx. 4; and a King, Psalm ii. 6, xlv. 1, &c. My belief, then, founded on all these passages, is, that *God anointed, with the Holy Spirit and with power,* Jesus of Nazareth (the Man); in order that, as Man, he might perfectly perform the work of our salvation; as a Prophet, to instruct us in the ways of God; as a Priest, to heal our spiritual diseases (Isaiah liii. 5), or to reconcile us to God; and as a King, to deliver us from the bondage of sin, and from all our enemies." *Habeta Selasse*: "That is precisely our belief: this is why from this present time we entirely separate from the Copts, and why we do not at all agree with the people of Tigré and Gojam. We believe that the union of the divinity with the humanity in the womb of the Virgin Mary is entirely explained by these words: *The Word was made flesh.*" *Missionary*: "Very well; but you are wrong in calling the

anointing of Jesus Christ a third birth." *Habeta Selasse*: "If it is as man that Jesus Christ was anointed by the Holy Spirit, He was anointed like His brethren, like us. Now, the in-dwelling or operation of the Holy Spirit in us is called 'a birth' in the third chapter of St. John." *Missionary*: "Here you fall into a very great error; for, as it respects us, we are fallen from our original, and are by nature children of the devil. The Holy Spirit works in us in order to make us pass *from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God*, to change us, to renew us (Titus iii. 5); and it is this renewing, or this change, which the Holy Spirit produces in us, which is called in the Gospel a new birth; because by it we become children of God. But Jesus Christ was the Son of God, by nature: He had no need of becoming so by a renewing. Do you not plainly see, that when you call the anointing of Jesus Christ a birth, you insinuate that He was a sinner?" *Habeta Selasse, and the Priest*: "You are right, and we are wrong on this point." We afterward conversed on the New Birth; a doctrine exceedingly darkened by the idea that the new birth is necessarily joined with the baptism of water.

May 13, 1830—This morning I went to a village of Falashas (Jews); where they immediately brought me the Rabbi, on my asking for him. The poor old man trembled with fear, so that at the beginning he could not speak. I begged him to show me their books. He first brought me the

Book of Psalms, with all the Scriptural Hymns, and the Oudasse Mariam which the Christians have added to them, with all the repetitions of "In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Afterward, he showed me a book in two parts: the first part treats of Sanbat, (the Christians so call Sunday, and the Falashas Saturday,) who is represented as pleading with God in favour of men; whence the author concludes that Sanbat ought to be observed. The second part is intitled, The prophecy of Gorgorius. He then showed me another book without a title, which speaks of the stars: I suppose it is the Book of Enoch. I could not discover any meaning in it. He next showed me a little book written in the Falasha dialect, with Ethiopic characters. I wished to take down a few words of their language in writing; but the rain did not allow me. I asked the Rabbi of what tribe he was. *Rabbi*: "Of the tribe of Levi." *Missionary*: "Are there not in Abyssinia, Jews of other tribes; for instance, of the tribe of Judah?" *Rabbi*: "We are of the tribe of Judah." *Missionary*: "How? you just now said that you were of the tribe of Levi." *Rabbi*: "Our father Jacob had twelve sons; and he gave five to Judah the king, and five to Levi the priest: this is why we are kings and priests." *Missionary*: "When did your fathers first come and settle in Abyssinia?" *Rabbi*: "They came here with Menelaus, son of Solomon, king of Israel." *Missionary*: "When do you

expect the Messiah?" *Rabbi* (not understanding me): "The world is yet to last six hundred and sixty-two years." *Missionary*: "How many years do you reckon from the creation of the world?" *Rabbi*: "Seven thousand three hundred and thirty-eight." *Missionary*: "You doubtless know that Moses speaks of a Prophet like himself, who was to come, whom David and the Prophets call Messiah: when will He appear?" *Rabbi*: "We believe that this is Theodore*." *Missionary*: "When do you believe that he will appear?" *A young Falasha*: "In seven years." *Rabbi*: "We know nothing about it: some say that the time is near; others, that it is still distant." *Missionary*: "Have you no book in Hebrew?" *Rabbi* (hesitating a little): "Yes, we have the Law; but, on account of present troubles, we have hid it, with some other books, in the Mussulmans' quarter."—As the sky was overcast, and the Falashas do not willingly permit a Christian to enter into their houses, I was obliged to cut short the conversation, and go. The Falashas are a very quiet people; much more active than other Abyssinians, but poor, because their cattle are often taken from them. They carry no arms, either for attack or

* The Abyssinians have a book called *Fakra Yasous* (Love of Jesus), which says that a certain man, Theodore, will rise in Greece, and subdue all the world to his empire; and that from his time all the world will become Christian. But Habeta Selasse said to me lately, with an air of sadness, "The time fixed by this prophecy is elapsed, and Theodore has not appeared."

defence: the fear which people have of them, as sorcerers, is their safeguard. When they have been with Christians or Mussulmans, they wash their whole body, and change their clothes, before entering again into their houses. In short, they are ignorant; and, with some exceptions, their superstitions are the same as those of the Christians, only that they are modelled after the Jewish fashion.

On returning home, I found there a young man who had come to beg me to take him with me to Jerusalem. I told him that I knew too well the uselessness of such a pilgrimage, to think of encouraging him to make it. To which he replied: "They tell me, that if I go to Jerusalem, I shall be sure to be saved. Does not then the fatigue, &c. blot out sins?" I quoted to him some passages of the Bible, to show him how we may be justified before God; and I advised him to learn to read the Gospel, instead of going to Jerusalem. "Gladly will I!" he replied: "instruct me." He appears to have his conscience very much burdened.

Afterward, Habeta Selasse came. We began a conversation on the conversion of man; when we were interrupted by Lic Atecou, with four or five others. Lic Atecou is a well-informed man, but he has not the humility and good sense of Habeta Selasse. They stirred up all the thorny points on which they are in the habit of discussing. Habeta Selasse was not disposed to follow the other in this labyrinth: he appeared very much

hampered, because he begins to see the uselessness of such discussions. When speaking of the Trinity, the nature of God, &c., they often asked my opinion; and I always replied: "You cannot say, *It is written*. Now, whatever God has not revealed to us concerning His person, is too far above my understanding for me to dare to open my mouth." Habeta Selasse constantly replied, striking his breast: "You are right! We ought to do as you do, and not forget these three things—*faith, hope, and charity*." At last, they all agreed that the Word of God alone is a sure guide in the way of salvation; and that whatever is not contained in it ought at least to be suspected.

May 14, 1830.—While I was writing by the side of my house yesterday, my people transported all my goods into the church: there only remained the book—which serves me as a table—and the clothes on my back. At last Emmaha's mother-in-law took from me even my inkstand and paper, saying to me, "Betake yourself into the church as fast as possible!" Saying that, she fled with the other people of the house. Only one servant remained; and while I was asking him what was the occasion of this, I saw an old man who often visits me, coming running toward my house. He cried out to me from a distance, "What! are you mad? Do you not know that all the city is in trouble? Take refuge, immediately, in a church!" Without knowing precisely what was the matter, I thought it right to follow

the advice of an old man; and I repaired to the church, where I learned the cause of this alarm. For some days past, the soldiers, who have been collecting from all parts to go against Samen and Tigré, have committed many thefts. Yesterday, the market was full of soldiers; and the Head of the Customs, Achaber, fearing lest they should do still greater mischief, went with his people to order them to retire; because, in the absence of Cantiba Cassai, the government of the city devolves on Achaber. Some words passed on both sides; on which a battle commenced in the midst of the city. Achaber's people, about two hundred, chased the others, about seven hundred, out of the city; but the soldiers made a circuit, and fell upon Achaber, whom they took prisoner. To-day he is put in chains, with some of the leading men of the city; who did not go out of their houses yesterday, and who are guilty of no other crime than that of having so little property and money in their houses; all that they did not absolutely want having been, for some time past, shut up in the churches. There are seven or eight persons killed, and many wounded: when Achaber was taken, his people fled, and the other party began plundering the city. As I live on a hill, in a secluded quarter where there are only some poor people's houses, the robbers did not come to my house. This morning the plundering had not ended, and the great people of the city were seen running through the streets with only an

old rag round the middle of the body. It is supposed that to-day the soldiers will leave, with the mules and asses which they have stolen, laden with the things which they have seized, to go and share the booty with Mariam; who desires nothing better, although Gondar is under his jurisdiction, and Achaber his friend. It is also believed that, as is commonly the case, he will have the prisoners beaten, to extort money. The worst character that can be given to a prince is attributed to Mariam. He does justice to no one. When one of his soldiers robs or kills his companion, far from punishing him, he praises him before all, as a man of courage. It is said, that he has given orders to all his soldiers, on entering into Oubea's territories, to kill every human being that they find, without distinction of age or sex; that if one of his soldiers is known to have spared a single person in his power, he shall be punished with death.

Evening.—At noon, the King and the Etchegua went to the market, to endeavour to put a stop to the disturbances; but their exhortations were of no avail, till the Etchegua began to anathematize: then the chiefs promised to go immediately to the King's house, to settle. There they brought Achaber; whom they immediately set at liberty, promising to restore all that belonged to him, provided he would not bring a complaint before Mariam. The Etchegua also came to the King's house, to anathematize all the soldiers who would

not restore the goods and money which they had plundered. People hope that most of the soldiers will fear the anathema, and will restore what they have taken: but it will not be so with all; for the very next moment some soldiers entered my house, which they ransacked; but they only found a little pepper, which they drank with water. I am very glad that I came to the church; for if I had been in the house, my people would not have suffered anything to be taken, but by force; and there would doubtless have been a battle in the house.

May 15, 1830—This morning I went to the house of Alaca Stephanos; where I found a great number of persons, come to condole with Kidam Mariam, who was in mourning for his brother, who fell in the battle the day before yesterday. To-day every thing is quiet: the soldiers have set off to join Mariam, who has at last quitted the neighbourhood of Gondar, to meet Oubea in the vicinity of Debâree. Oubea sent to tell him to make haste, in order that the caravans may pass, and the poor peasants may sow their fields; lest the cries of the poor people should rise to Heaven against them both, on account of their quarrels. Every body speaks well of Oubea, even his enemies.

Habeta Selasse came, accompanied by a monk, an Alaca, and some priests. He put the same questions to me as the other day, on the points of their disputes, especially on the anointing of Jesus Christ. I at once perceived that his design

was only to persuade the priests that we do not differ much in belief on this point. This subject always gives me opportunity to speak on the New Birth by the operation of the Holy Spirit. At last, they all agreed that it is an error to call the anointing of Jesus Christ a birth; because the operation of the Holy Spirit in us is called a birth only on account of its renewing in us the image of God which we have lost by sin. Discussion arose also on the subject of the two natures in Jesus Christ; but on this point I usually confine myself to saying that the Bible speaks neither of one nor of two natures; and that, consequently, we ought not to condemn those who are of a contrary opinion. The Abyssinians do not admit the doctrine of the two natures in theory; but, in almost all their religious conversations, one sees that they admit it in practice, if one may be allowed so to speak: for you may often hear them say, that Jesus Christ did such and such an action as man, and such another action as God. When they come to this point, I always endeavour to draw attention to the boundless love of Christ, who became man in order that He might be able to suffer and to die for us.

They all said, as they have often said to me: "There never came a White man like you into this country. When the others are questioned, they are offended; and when we tell them what are our sentiments, they say they think as we do, while yet they say the contrary elsewhere."

The Alaca said to me: "Tell us frankly if the Armenians admit the doctrine of the three births of Jesus Christ." *Missionary*: "I have never had occasion to converse on this subject with Armenians: I do not know." *The Alaca*: "This is the first time that I have heard a White say, 'I do not know:' the others are like us, they pretend to know every thing, when they are even as ignorant as we are." *Habeta Selasse* (to the others): "It was his saying always, 'I do not know,' when I put questions to him on points which are not contained in the Bible, that has entirely gained my affection and confidence." *The Alaca*: "Do the Greeks believe in three births?" *Missionary*: "If I recollect right, the Greeks believe as I do, that Jesus Christ was anointed of the Holy Spirit to be, as man, Christ; that is to say, Prophet, Priest, and King; but I never heard speak of three births till I came to Abyssinia." *The Alaca*: "Yohannes* has again deceived us, in saying that the Greeks admit three births. He advised us to send for a Greek bishop; but if he comes, we shall still have nothing but disputes; and who is it that will reconcile us?" *Habeta Selasse*: "It is only the English who can reconcile us." *Missionary*: "Learn the Gospel, and instruct the people in every part of the Word

* A Greek, who was here last year; and who appears to me to have been cunning. He gained the esteem of every body; but without having had occasion, till now, directly to contradict him, I see that the longer I stay here, the more he loses ground in the opinion of those who know him.

of God, and nothing else : for it is the Word of God alone which can reconcile you, and create a new people in Abyssinia, to the glory of our Saviour." *Habeta Selasse* : " It is precisely on account of your not admitting any thing but the Word of God, that you are the only persons capable of putting an end to our discussions."

This evening, Lic Atecou brought me an Alaca ; but I was not able to carry on any connected conversation with him.

May 16, 1830 : Sunday—This morning I had a visit from two priests, and some young people, to whom I read several passages of the Gospel. All this afternoon I have had so many people, that my room could not contain them. We went and seated ourselves on the grass in the churchyard. We read several passages of the Gospel ; but we had no connected conversation on any point. Lic Atecou was present : he is one of the most learned Abyssinians ; but he speaks much, and is perpetually running, without order, from one subject to another. This did not please *Habeta Selasse*, who is just the opposite : when a question is touched on, he always wishes to exhaust it, before passing on to another. They asked me whether the glory of Jesus, on the mountain where He was transfigured, was essential ; or given to Him by the Father, like the anointing of the Holy Spirit. *Missionary* : " I do not know : the Bible does not say ; but it seems to me that it was the glory essentially belonging to His person."

Habeta Selasse : " That is also our belief ; but I have heard say, that when Yagoube* was questioned on this point, he replied, that he believed it was given Him of the Father, as the anointing ; but since the Bible says nothing of it, it is a distinction of small importance." *Lic Atecou* : " Yagoube was a learned man : since him, no well-informed White has come to Gondar. The others professed to know the stars (astrology), to make us believe that they were learned ; because they knew that we could not confute them on this article." *Missionary* : " Did you know Yagoube ?" *Lic Atecou* : " I did not know him personally ; I am too young ; but there are still old men at Gondar who knew him. He was beloved and respected by all the great people of the country."

May 17, 1830—This morning, the King himself sent for me, requesting me to bring the copies of the Gospel and the Acts which he had sent back to me. I went instantly to see him. When I entered, he put on as much of the air of a King as he could, and said to me : " I told you to come often to see me, and you have never come again. Why are you so quickly offended with me ?" *Missionary* : " I am not offended with you ; but in our country, when a present is sent back which had been accepted, however small it may be, we understand thereby that all friendly com-

[* The name by which Bruce was known in Abyssinia : it is the Arabic and Abyssinian for "James."—ED.]

communication is broken off; and I understood so: besides that, I do desire on no account to have communication with whoever despises the Word of God." *The King*: "You ought to conform yourself to the customs of the country where you are: you cannot everywhere follow the customs of your own country: and for the Gospel, I possess it in Ethiopic, which I comprehend." *The Afa Negus* (described in Bruce*) to the King: "You are wrong in both these respects; for in Abyssinia, also, we do not send back an accepted present, except we wish to break all friendship." *The King*: "I did not know it: I pray you to excuse me." *Missionary*: "With all my heart!" *The Afa Negus*: "Then, this was not a common present: it was the Gospel of the Lord. You are old: it was not for you alone that he gave it; it was for the King's household: for there are many persons in your house who have no desire more ardent, than to possess the Gospel in a language which they understand." *The King*: "It is true. But let us forget that, and be friends." He afterward begged me to go and see his sick cousin, and I went out.

I passed the afternoon at the house of Lic Atecou; but he was so immersed in the study of geography, that there was no entering into any other conversation with him in a connected way. He

[* One of the King's Chamberlains. See *Bruce's Travels*, Book v. Chap. 11. describing the freedom with which these address the King.—ED.]

showed me the entire Bible in Latin; and a little Catechism in Amharic, printed at Rome in 1809, if I have rightly deciphered the figures. "Five years ago," said he to me, "four Spanish priests came into Abyssinia; but they disappeared immediately." He did not see them. He showed me a book nearly twice as thick as the Gospel, in Amharic, which treats of medicine. I did not find the name of the author in it; but Lic Atecou told me that it was Plato. He would not sell it.

May 18, 1830—Tecla Selasse, the King's cousin, passed all the forenoon with me. He often comes to see me; but he so mixes the Word of God with medicine, the misery of the Royal Family, the treasures hid in the earth, the evil spirits and sorcerers, that when he is gone I never know what has been the subject of our conversation. With all that, he has so much piety (though with much superstition), and so much good-nature, that I cannot speak severely to him. Habeta Selasse was also a short time with me; and from the circumstance of my servants having killed a hyæna last night, he told me that the flesh and teeth of a hyæna were a good preservative against the *boudas* (sorcerers). I told him I could easily understand how it is that ignorant people believe in boudas; but I was astonished that he was not above this prejudice. He brought forward examples, to prove the existence of boudas: for instance, that there are men who render themselves invisible at pleasure; that when any one kills an

ox, &c. he often finds an empty part in it, or full of water, which ought to have been filled with flesh—it is the boudas who have eaten it; that men without illness, and with a good appetite, become like skeletons—they are internally devoured by the boudas; and, especially, that hyænas are often killed whose ears are pierced: sometimes even they have ear-rings. *Missionary*: “You can understand, that, as to the men and oxen, the want of flesh may arise entirely from another cause; besides, that happens to those who have the most amulets against the boudas, as well as those who have none: but have you ever seen a man render himself invisible, or a hyæna with ear-rings?” *Habeta Selasse*: “No.” *Missionary*: “Have you ever heard an honest person say, ‘I have seen it’?” *Habeta Selasse*: “No. Every body says, ‘I have heard say.’” *Missionary*: “You have often said, that the country is full of liars. Did it never come into your mind to think that the history of the boudas is a parcel of lies?” *Habeta Selasse*: “No, not till now: for some time since I fancied myself the prey of the boudas; but now I begin to doubt if they exist: but you do not deny, surely, that there are persons possessed?” *Missionary*: “Far from that! I believe that those who do not keep the commandments of God, and the testimony of Jesus Christ, are under the possession of the devil.” *Habeta Selasse*: “You are right. It is against the demons, who induce us to sin against God, that we ought to be on our guard,

much more than against what operates only on the body. But do you not believe madness to be the work of demons?" *Missionary*: "I will not say but that it may sometimes be the case, since we have examples of it in the Gospel; but you often attribute madness to the immediate influence of demons, when it is only the result of a physical disorganization, as was the case with Gojar Heilou, brother of Ozoro Waleta Teclit, who was restored by simple bleeding." *Habeta Selsasse*: "You condemn us at every point. I agree that we ought always to be on our guard against what injures our immortal souls, much more than against what only respects this life."

May 19, 1830—To-day is the feast of Abuna Tecla Haimanot. I wished to go this morning to see Alaca Waldab. Habeta Selsasse came to fetch me; but, up till noon, my house was so full of people that I could hardly breathe. There were several priests. Lic Atecou often gave me pain, by cutting the conversation short to turn it to geography, especially Biblical geography. In speaking of the idolatry of China, Habeta Selsasse said, "There is no idolatry in Abyssinia." *Missionary*: "Is there not covetousness?" *Habeta Selsasse*: "Yes, much." *Missionary*: "What says St. Paul?" *Habeta Selsasse*: "He says that *covetousness is idolatry*; but this is in another sense." *Missionary*: "No; for to be idolatrous is to take from God that love and regard which we owe to Him, to give it to creatures. Your very churches have become

temples of idols, since you have filled them with images, to which you pray, and before which you fall down." *A Priest*: "We by no means adore the images: they are only simple representations of facts which formerly took place, and which recall more vividly to us the faith and sufferings of the servants of God in past time." *Missionary*: "You will agree, however, that ignorant people, at least, worship the images as much as the heathen worship their idols." *Habeta Selasse*: "Yes; and that is to be lamented." *The Priests*: "We all say, that since the images are nothing more than a simple representation of persons and facts, this is the abuse of them." *Missionary*: "You all confess that the people worship the images; and you say that this is an evil, a sin: they ought, then, to be taken out from the churches." They were all silent. We next came to the Apocryphal Books. I brought forward the reasons why we do not receive them as the Word of God: among others, that the first Christians did not put them on a level with the Word of God. To that they all replied, that I was right; that it was only themselves and the Copts who received them as inspired. *Missionary*: "The Franks (Papists) regard them as they do the Gospel; and I believe that it is from them you have learned to liken them to the Word of God." They all looked, saying to one another, "It is possible." *Missionary*: "As for your Didascalia, you have no proof that this work was ever received by Christians in

the first ages; and, consequently, there is much danger in receiving it as the Word of God." *Habeta Selasse*: "Yes; because it is only the Abyssinians that have put this among the number of inspired books." *Missionary*: "As for Councils, they do not profess to teach any thing new: all their pretensions are, to explain the principal articles of faith contained in the Word of God: consequently they are very inferior, and we ought to judge of them according to the Bible. What is according to the Bible we receive, and the rest we reject." They all said, "We can say nothing against that."

This afternoon the Etchegua sent me a basket of wheaten bread and a pitcher of beer, both made expressly in remembrance of Abuna Tecla Haimanot. The Etchegua had from three hundred to four hundred persons in his house, to whom he caused bread and beer to be distributed; which is looked upon as almost equal to the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper. Three times a year the feast of this saint is celebrated in the same manner as to-day. I had my house full of people; and the silence with which they drank their beer, and the vows which they offered up from time to time for all the individuals in the house, although mixed with superstition, were edifying to me, and reminded me of the love-feasts of the first Christians.

May 20, 1830—This morning I had a visit from two priests, who questioned me on the anointing

of Jesus Christ, which always leads the conversation to man's new birth ; and on the two natures in Jesus Christ, which brings about conversation on the love of God in becoming man for our salvation. I passed all the rest of the day in paying visits. Among others, I passed several hours at the Etchegua's, where were several priests. He likewise questioned me on the anointing of Jesus Christ. At the first, it was only to know my opinion on this point : but when he heard that I compared it to the anointing of prophets, priests, and kings, he put several questions to me to have the point cleared up, as one who was desirous to learn. The idea that Jesus Christ could not be a priest but as man, pleased him much. He asked me if it is true that the Franks attribute two persons (*acales*) and two natures (*baher*) to Jesus Christ. *Missionary* : "No, they believe that Jesus Christ unites two natures and two wills in one person." *The Etchegua* : "What is your opinion upon this point?" *Missionary* : "The words 'one or two natures' are not found in the Bible : it is an expression which varies its signification, in the different languages of Christendom. We know that formerly there was much disputing on this point, without coming to any conclusion. But we believe that disputes without love are not befitting Christians : this is why I and my friends avoid saying 'one or two natures :' we content ourselves with saying, with the Bible, that Jesus Christ is perfect God and perfect man." *The Etchegua*,

to all the priests present: "It is impossible for us better to express ourselves. Let this be also our belief."—I was told, to-day, that several persons talk of asking me to become a bishop; but, besides that I in no wise desire this dignity in Abyssinia, I do not think it right to encourage the Abyssinians to ask for an English bishop just yet.

May 21, 1830—This morning I went to visit Kidam Mariam, who proposes to go to Tigré and Massowah before winter, to consult together on the route which we ought to take. We are, as it were, in prison at Gondar; and, for my part, I am aground. We resolved, that if in fifteen or twenty days the route of Wagara and Samen is not open, we would journey along the borders of Lasta, to go to Antálo.

On returning, I found two Alacas and some priests at my house. They questioned me on the doctrine of the anointing of Jesus Christ, and on the two natures. They were at once satisfied with my replies. I never saw persons more attentive than they were, when I spoke to them on the regeneration of man by the operation of the Holy Spirit; and on the love and obedience which we owe to our Saviour, who *was made flesh, a man of sorrows*, for our salvation.

All this afternoon I had my house full of people; Alacas, priests, and laymen. They, also, put questions to me on the anointing of Jesus Christ, and on the two natures. I began by reproving them for always dwelling on the same topic, as if the

Bible contained nothing else; and I added, that their continual disputes on non-essential points prove their want of true Christianity; because the mark of Christianity is love; and that if they had Christian love, their disputes would be finished in a day. After that, I explained myself as clearly and briefly as possible; for I learn by degrees how to express myself on these questions. When I had finished, an Alaca said to the others: "That is just our belief; but he expresses himself much more clearly than we do. I am of opinion that the word 'birth' is not suited to the anointing of Jesus Christ." Another said: "He is right in saying that if we had Christian love we should finish in a day. Far from putting himself in a passion, as other Whites, he speaks to us with love: see here the reason of our agreeing in a moment." I observed, that it is not sufficient to be orthodox on certain points of the Bible: in order to be a Christian, it is necessary strictly to conform ourselves to the whole and entire Word of God. "You are," I said to them, "like a tree which has some sound roots and some beautiful-looking branches, but which brings forth no fruit: you know, however, that the Father cuts off every branch of the vine that beareth not fruit in Jesus, to cast it into the fire." *Habeta Selawe*: "Yes, we are like the barren fig-tree in the Gospel: this was not a wild tree, it was a fig-tree. Even so, we are not heathens, we are orthodox Christians; but all our works are evil." The priests

asked me if I would not become an Abuna in Abyssinia. *Missionary*: "What is the work of a bishop among you?" *The Priests*: "He makes priests, by laying his hands on them." *Missionary*: "Does he not preach the Gospel?" *The Priests*: "No; because he does not speak the language of the country." *Missionary*: "It is a sin to call a man a bishop, who does not feed the sheep of Christ. Does he examine the priests before he lays his hands on them?" *The Priests*: "No." *Missionary*: "That is why there are so many wolves among you, who ruin the inheritance of the Lord. How will he answer for his conduct before God?" *Habeta Selasse*: "He makes himself a partaker in other men's sins, by laying on hands suddenly, as St. Paul says to Timothy." *Missionary*: "If a man of my country should become your bishop, it would be only under these conditions: he would suffer no one to fall down before him; he would not give absolution, as your bishops do; he would every year travel over the country, to see what is the state of the Church, and to preach the Gospel; and, especially, he would not lay hands on any one, till he had strictly examined him, to know if he be able and worthy to feed the flock, which the Lord *hath purchased with His own blood*. Under these conditions I would submit to become your Abuna: and, for the future, I would add yet another condition; it is, that the Abuna should be free to marry; because St. Paul says to Timothy, that a bishop should be

the husband of one wife. What do you say to it?" They all kept silence. For some days I have remarked that the conversations which I have with the priests are reported immediately throughout the city.

May 22, 1830—This morning I was sent for to go and see the sister of the deceased King, Tecla Haimanot. She knew Bruce, and told me that he was very much respected at Gondar; but that he had no command, unless it were that the King once said to him that he gave him the source of the Nile, or the market of Sacala. An old man present told me that Yagoube found a quantity of gold, which he carried away with him to Sennaar. The Abyssinians believe that their country is full of gold; and that it is only the Whites who know how to find it, and purify it. It is in vain saying any thing to them: the greater part believe that the Whites come into Abyssinia only to look for mines of gold. I afterward went to Ozoro Waleta Teclit's, where I found several priests, who again asked me if I would become their Abuna. I replied to them as I did to those of yesterday; and I added some remarks on the essence of true Christianity. Waleta Teclit was so attentive, that she would suffer no person to speak, not even the priests; till, all on a sudden, her house was so filled with people, that it was no longer possible for her to enforce silence. When I wished to retire, she begged me to come often to see her.

May 23: *Sunday*—This morning I had a visit

from some priests, with whom I read several passages of the Gospel. Afterward I passed several hours alone, reading the Bible. This afternoon my house was filled with people; but I was not able to carry on any conversation with them, because Lic Atecou, who is very much respected by all, is perpetually running from one subject to another.

May 24, 1830—This morning I paid several visits of ceremony; but on account of some persons, especially Gajar Heilou, brother of Ozoro Waleta Teclit, who had been cured by bleeding, I can hardly get across the city any more. Every body stops me, begging me to go and see the sick. The more I tell them that I am not a physician, the more they are persuaded that what I advise is the best remedy. There are even some persons who believe that it is sufficient for me to look on the sick to work their cure.

This afternoon, an old priest came, and some others. We conversed together on the spiritual misery of man, and the salvation which Jesus Christ has meritoriously procured for us by His death on the cross. The Abyssinians appear affected when you speak of the corruption of the human heart; but their ideas of eternal salvation are vague.

May 25—To-day I had to deal only with sick people; excepting Habeta Selasse, who passed some hours at my house. I told him, that the most ardent desire of my Christian friends in England is, to make Christ known in Abyssinia, and

to bring the people out of their ignorance and misery: but, in order to that, it would be necessary that as learned an Abyssinian as possible should go to England, in order to assist in preparing books in Amharic; one, whose sole object should be the glory of God and the salvation of men. "We should not give him money to hoard up; because he who seeks to amass money would not be suitable, his heart not being entirely for the Lord: but if a man like you went there, they would give him enough to live comfortably; and you would have an opportunity of giving your son a good education. If I were to speak to my friends to send for you to England or Malta, would you accept this proposal?" *Habeta Selasse*: "I desire to consecrate my life to the Lord: if you think that I can contribute by this means to the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ, I am ready to go: I desire only my daily food. But I should prefer to go with you to preach the Gospel to the Gallas. *Sehela Selasse* (King of Shoa) strongly insists on my returning to him; but I propose still to remain a year at Gondar, till your return."

May 26—I had hardly risen this morning, when suddenly my house was filled with people, priests, monks, and others. I spoke to them of the sin which they commit, in worshipping images, and invoking the saints, even the Virgin Mary: they made no objections. I read to them the history of the sufferings of Jesus Christ, in St. John, with

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Hardly had the priests of Coscouam gone out, when another company filled my house, with Lic Atecou. We at first read some passages of the Gospel. Then I spoke to them on justification by faith, to which they objected nothing: but this brought on a long conversation with Lic Atecou on the vow of celibacy. He had, at first, a high opinion of monks; and when I began to allude to their bad practices, he said that I was right; but he observed, that that was only applicable to one party; adding, that there was also a wicked Judas among the faithful Apostles. *Missionary*: "Supposing even that the monks may be good, yet, by retiring into convents or deserts, they render themselves useless to the world: besides that, supposing them to be enlightened by the Spirit of God, they transgress the commandment of Jesus Christ, who wills that the *light* of His disciples should *shine before men*," &c. *Lic Atecou*: "I confess that the monks would do better to instruct the people, and to set a good example to the fathers of families." *Missionary*: "The vow of celibacy is of itself a sin, and consequently unlawful, because it is based on man's own power, and not on the grace of God; since we can never have ground for relying on the grace of God, except when making vows to observe His express commandments," &c. *Lic Atecou* (with a pensive air): "That reflection never occurred to me. Yes, you are right, we can do nothing by ourselves. Nevertheless, do you not

some remarks. I had intended to read to them only one chapter; but they continually pressed me to go on, till noon. They were hardly departed, when the priests of Coscouam came, with a party of young people. They had asked the Etchegua for a copy of the Gospel; and he sent them to me, to ask my permission. They put several questions to me, on the anointing of Jesus Christ, and the two natures: then they began to dispute together on useless points; for example, "Did Adam rule over the angels? Is it as man, by gift conferred on Him, that Jesus Christ rules over the angels, or is it as God?" &c. Not being able to agree, they wished to constitute me their judge; but I confined myself to telling them that there were many questions, which St. Paul desires the people should other Christians to avoid. I then exhorted them to hold to the Bible alone; because what is not contained in the Word of God is not true, and consequently hurtful in matters of religion. They asked me if I was a priest: I answered, I was not; in the affirmative, an Alacran would have kissed my hand, according to the custom of the country; but I told him, that it did not become me to have his hand kissed. They then asked me if the Indians who believe that by kissing a priest their lips are purified, and that when touched by the coal of the altar, a priest enters into a paradise, and that any one in it who does not kiss the priest does not fail to be damned.

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Selasse, Guebra Haiwat a well-informed young man of Begameder, and some others. We touched on several points of doctrine; but my principal aim was to show them, that whatever, in matters of religion, is not contained in the Bible, is prejudicial to faith and charity. At the close, Habeta Selasse and Guebra Haiwat said, with a decided air, "Well! we wish for nothing else but the Bible." The invocation of saints they at once acknowledged to be useless; but they did not yet see the sin of it. They also next agreed that water-baptism is only a visible sign of the regeneration of the heart. The Abyssinians have not the purgatory of the Papists; yet they pray for the dead; and they believe that the souls of the dead do not arrive at felicity till after a certain time, more or less protracted, according to their conduct on earth, and according to the quantity of alms and prayers of their relations, together with the necessary absolution of the priests. My visitors of to-day confessed, at once, that their belief on this point is not founded on the Word of God. When I quoted to them passages from the Bible which contradict the belief in any purgatory whatever after death; such as, that every one shall be judged according to the good or evil which he shall have *done in the body*, 2 Cor. v. 10—*After death the judgment*, Heb. ix. 27, without an intermediate state—*Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord*, &c. Rev. xiv. 13—they said that I was right. Habeta Selasse added,

“Our belief on this point is only founded on the vision of a bishop, without name and without witness.” I hear it reported, from all quarters, that the Etchegua recommends me to all the priests: he sent several of them to me, as if I ought to decide on the points of belief which divide them.

May 29, 1830—This morning I went to the house of Alaca Stephanos, to consult with him on the route which I should take in returning to Tigré. He told me that he could now obtain me a safe-conduct by the way of Lasta; but that Mariam had heard me spoken of, and that it would not be well to make a circuit so as to avoid seeing him. However, if the Wagara road is not open, I intend to leave with the caravan which is to set out for Massowah before the rains. Alaca Stephanos seeks my welfare, as if I were his own son. On my rising to leave his house, he told me that his slave had disappeared last night; and he asked me if I did not know the art of bringing him back, as the Mussulmans do in like cases, who have only to read a portion of their book to bring a slave back in an instant. On re-entering my house, I found a lady; who immediately threw herself at my feet, saying: “I have heard that you know all things: I entreat you to assist me: I have the means of giving you every thing you may require. I have a son who has married a woman by whom he has had children. Now, another woman has given him a medicine to make

him love her ; and, since that, he is always running after her, and will never hear a word either of his lawful wife or of his children. I entreat you to give me a medicine to make him return to his wife and children."

I passed a great part of the afternoon with a company of young people, to whom I explained the nature of true Christianity ; whence they themselves drew the inference, that the Abyssinians are Christians only in name.

May 30, 1830—This morning the Etchegua sent for me to breakfast with him. I found there but one priest, and another monk, both of whom appeared to be persons of authority. The Etchegua asked me, in order, all the questions which could be put on the anointing of Jesus Christ. He began by asking me, "What was Adam before the Fall?" *Missionary*: "Adam was created to be a king, to rule over all the earth, or subject it to himself; a priest, to render to God a rational homage in the name of all nature; a prophet, to bring up his posterity in the knowledge and love of God." *The Etchegua*: "Adam was not introduced into Paradise till forty days after his creation, and Eve eighty days after her creation: this is why we baptize boys at the age of forty days, and girls at the age of eighty days. What do you say to it?" *Missionary*: "The Bible, which alone can inform us on this subject, speaks neither of forty nor of eighty days; therefore we know nothing about it. We baptize infants at the age of one

day, or more, indifferently." *The Etchegua*: "This difference between us and you is of no consequence. By whom was Adam saved?" *Missionary*: "If he was saved, it was by Jesus Christ; for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved, but the only name of Jesus." *The Etchegua*: "How were the Old-Testament saints saved, since Jesus Christ was not yet come into the world?" *Missionary*: "They were saved by faith in Christ, as well as ourselves: for it is written, that He was slain from the foundation of the world." *The Etchegua*: "Why do men die? Is it on account of the sin of Adam, or is it through their own fault?" *Missionary*: "St. Paul says, that *by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, through him (Adam), for that all have sinned.** The death therefore of the soul in which we are born, and the death of the body, are the consequence of the sin of Adam; but Jesus Christ has redeemed, or delivered, all those who believe in Him, from the death of the soul, and that of the body. We are delivered from the death of the soul by the regeneration which takes place on earth (John iii. 12); and from the death of the body by the resurrection of life at the Last Day;

[* Mr. Gobat here quotes according to the Latin Vulgate, *In quo* (in whom); the Original is *ip' s̄*. The critical reader is aware that there is a difficulty in the passage: the English rendering will, probably, be regarded by many as containing the more exact sense; though the other rendering is also given in the margin of our English Bibles.—ED.]

for it is by believing that we obtain the true life of body and soul, through His Name." *The Monk*: "He is more learned than Yohannes"—the Greek who was here last year. *The Etchegua*: "Yohannes knew only the New Testament; but this man knows all."—To me: "How does Jesus Christ deliver us from the power of the angel of death (the devil)?" *Missionary*: "St. Paul says, that *by His death, He has destroyed him who has the power of death, even the devil.*" *The Etchegua*: "We are agreed on all the principal points. I have now found the Abuna that we want." He next asked me if there were monks in our country. *Missionary*: "No: there are many persons who do not marry; but they content themselves with saying, 'To-day I am not married; but as for to-morrow, God alone knows what will be suitable for me.'" *The Etchegua*: "The cap of St. Anthony and the cap of St. Macarius are not yet arrived in England: but are you not acquainted with the order of St. George?" *Missionary*: "We are acquainted with it; but we believe that the vow of celibacy is a sin, because it is based on man's own power to establish thereby that righteousness of his own which St. Paul condemns, and because it is nowhere recommended in the Word of God." *The Etchegua*: "This difference also is of no consequence." We then came to the confession of sins to priests, and to absolution; but because it is on this point that all the priests rest their tyrannical authority, and because we

were not agreed, he would not understand me; and we were interrupted in the middle of the conversation. He said, we will resume this question, the first time we see each other again.—As soon as I got out, a terrible shower of rain and hail fell, so that on the road I was obliged to take refuge in three houses. I feared I had offended the Etchegua on the points of Confession and Absolution; but the moment the rain was over, he sent his favourite servant to me, to inquire how I had reached home; if I were wet; and if my health were affected by it;—whence I conclude that he has not altered his regard for me.

To-day I received my first news from Kugler, at Adowa. The man who brought me the letter told me that Mariam wishes me to come to him. I know, that if I were to go at present, I shall offend Sebagadis and Oubea: but if it be true, that he has given orders to Cantiba Cassai to take me with him in eight days, I shall not be able to refuse. It is said that all the chiefs desire peace; but peace is not yet made.

May 31, 1830—To-day I went to Asoso, about two leagues s.w. of Gondar. This village belongs to the Etchegua; and he it was who engaged me to go there, to see his church, which is very famous, because it was there that Abuna Tecla Haimanot ordinarily officiated. At the same time, the priests told me that it was built by King Fasil (Fasilidas, or Basilidas), because the walls are built with lime. The Abyssinians believe that all

the buildings, and in general all the walls in which there is lime, were built by Fasil: the only exception is the Church of Axum, which they all say was built by the devil. Fasil is the king who drove the Popish priests from the country, after the death of his father, Susneus; for which he is in high repute in Abyssinia. His body, six cubits in length, is accounted to have been preserved, without putrefaction, till this day, in an island on the Lake of Dembea. The priests asked me if the churches of our country were built like theirs. In explaining to them the form of our churches, I took occasion to speak to them on the duty of priests to preach the Gospel, and to instruct the people, rather than to stop at ceremonies more or less vain and prejudicial. They then showed me some books, a large golden cup, a golden cross, and an iron one, which is said to have fallen from heaven in honour of Abuna Tecla Haimanot. There are three or four more such in Abyssinia, which are said to have fallen from heaven. After that, they put the usual questions on the anointing of Jesus Christ. I finished, by exhorting them not to confine themselves wholly to this point; but to study all the Bible, and to preach the Gospel to the people in a known tongue. Before my return, they invited me to dine at the house of the head man of the place. Asoso is a large village, very well situated. From the hill on which the church is built, you can see all the Plain of Dembea, with the Lake Tsâna; the

mountains of Begameder; and, beyond the lake, the mountains of Gouorgora, whence wood for building is brought to Gondar.

On returning, I went to salute Cantiba Cassai, whose house I found full of people, who immediately began conversing concerning me, as the other day. Cassai said to them: "It always seems to me that I am not worthy to be Samuel's friend: he is a priest not at all like ours. He has come into Abyssinia for no other purpose than to bring us the Gospel and to instruct us."

June 1, 1830—I went at an early hour to the King's house, to console him, as it is called, on occasion of the death of his wife, who departed this life the day before yesterday. There was a great crowd of people around the palace, who wept, singing to the doleful sound of the tabor. Yesterday, nearly all the city was assembled round the palace to weep. When any one dies, all the friends of his nearest relative wait on him, from the first day to the eighth, to console him; that is, they enter into the house, or, if that is small, into the court, where the mourner remains seated on the ground: there they stay for a moment at his side, without saying any thing, excepting that those who are able to weep, do so; and those who cannot, yet at least put on the appearance of weeping: and when they get up to go, they say to him in a low voice, "*Egziabher yitsnah!* (God comfort you!)" Whoever fails in this ceremony is not regarded as a friend.

From the King's I went to the Etchegua's; where I found Alaca Stephanos, with whom I was conversing the other day on the means of ameliorating the political state of Abyssinia. I avoid as much as possible all political conversation; but the other day, on occasion of the present troubles, and the misery of the Royal Family, Alaca Stephanos asked me if the English would not do something, in case their assistance were asked. I replied, that I did not know; that the English had sought the friendship of the Abyssinians these twenty years; and that consequently they would be likely to give them the hand, if it were entreated. On that, he asked me how such a request could be conveyed. To which I replied, that I should advise them to write a letter, which I would myself take the charge of conveying to England; but that I was unwilling in any way to enter into their political affairs. To-day he spoke of it to the Etchegua; who stopped him, and told him in Ethiopic (thinking that I did not understand it) to act cautiously; that they must not so readily trust themselves to strangers, &c. Then he related all the troubles that took place in Abyssinia under the reign of Susneus and his son Fasil. Desiring no longer to overhear secretly in this way, I stopped him, and told him that I knew this history. He questioned me on the entrance and progress of the Franks (Jesuits) in Abyssinia, as also their withdrawing. Afterward, many people entered, and I retired.

June 2, 1830—This morning the King sent for me, to introduce me to one of his friends, as little interesting as himself, so far as I could see. Afterward I passed some hours with Habeta Selasse; who told me that he and his friends were persuaded that the English are true Christians, because I distribute the Gospel gratis; adding, "We are only nominal Christians: we give nothing gratis: even the best priests only teach for money." He also told me, that if I should soon return to Gondar, to go with him to preach the Gospel to the Gallas, his plan would be to remain five or six years in Shoa, to instruct some young people; and afterward take them with us, to make schoolmasters of them. In the meanwhile, Guebra Haiwat came in; and commenced, by saying to me, "I desire only to know Jesus Christ; but I wish to know all that can be known of Him, from the Word of God alone: for I acknowledge that you are right in saying that human writings only perplex in matters of faith. I heard you say, the other day, that the anointing of prophets, priests, and kings, represents the anointing of Jesus Christ, which was to render Him capable of perfectly fulfilling these three offices. I understand, that it is as man that Jesus Christ is a priest and prophet; but can you show me some passages of the Bible which say that it is as man that He is King and Judge of the universe; for He is King and Judge as God?" *Missionary*: "Not to multiply proofs, one single passage will make it plain

to you. Read the latter part of the 25th chapter of St. Matthew." He read it; and having finished reading, struck his head, saying, "*Dancoro! dancoro nagne!* (Stupid! stupid that I am!) How many times I have read this passage, without finding in it what I have just found! It is the *Son of Man* who shall come to judge the world: then it as man. And He calls Himself King—*The King shall say, &c.*: and, as if He would doubly persuade me that it is as man He is King and Judge, He calls believers His brethren. This passage satisfies me!" At this moment, a third disciple of Alaca Waldab came in; and with these three friends I conversed on the means of ameliorating the religious state of Abyssinia. My principal aim was to show them that they ought to instruct the people in every part of the Bible, and in nothing else, as to matters of faith.

June 3, 1830—To-day I had my house full of people, the whole day: among others, Lic Atecou, and the Alaca or chief-priest of Coscouam. This Alaca was offended the other day, at my saying to him, that it did not become a priest to give his hand to be kissed. He asked me my reason. I confined myself to telling him, that priests are the brethren and not the legitimate lords of others, and that they ought to be humble; that in the world they only kiss the hand of him who is recognised as a superior; that, however, it is a custom of the country, which signifies nothing, provided that the priest does not draw from it nourishment

for his pride, and that others do not make of it a meritorious work. Conversation then turned on the Confession of sins to priests, and on Absolution. "Your confession," I said to them, "and your absolution, are the causes of the corruption of the country. You reduce sins to a certain number of gross sins; while the whole life of the unregenerate man, like that of your people, is one continual sin; so that it is impossible for a man to count his sins, so as to confess them. After confession, you impose a penance which is not at all agreeable to the Bible; often even contrary to the positive declarations of the Bible; and always contrary to the spirit of the Gospel; because you lead men to seek justification by works, and not by faith in Jesus Christ. After that, the priest dares to put himself in the place of God, and pardon sins when he pleases! By all this, you lull the people to sleep in sin, and lead them to perdition. The duty of priests is, to make men feel their corruption, and to show them the remedy by the preaching of the Gospel. As soon as the sinner has a lively conviction of his misery, let him confess—not a certain number of sins, but the entire depravity of his heart—to an enlightened priest; and let that priest show him, first, the danger which he incurs by living in sin; then lead him to the Saviour's cross; and assure him, from the Word of God, that if he truly repent, and be converted, God will forgive him, and graciously receive him.—These are the confession

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questioned me on the anointing of Jesus Christ; but I cut the whole short, by saying to them—“ You are always on one point; as if the Holy Spirit has dictated all the rest of the Bible in vain. You ought rather to think how you may be saved; and, after having found the way of salvation, to lead your people into it: for a man may be as orthodox as possible on this point, and, notwithstanding that, lose his soul for ever. I do not contradict your opinion; but I say, that, notwithstanding your orthodoxy, if you are not yourselves anointed with the Holy Spirit, if you are not born again, you will not enter into the kingdom of Heaven.” On that, two of the priests went away without saying any thing; and the others again put several questions on the New Birth.

June 6: Sunday—I passed a great part of the day alone, reading the Bible. To-day is the Pentecost of the Abyssinians; but a priest came, who did not know in remembrance of what the feast was kept. This afternoon an old priest came, the Father Confessor of the King; and a young man of Begameder, pretty well informed. I had just been reading the passage, *The Word was made flesh*. I spoke to them of the love of God for us. “ The King of the Universe became a servant, to redeem us from the servitude of Satan and death: for this reason all our life ought to be nothing but a constant testimony of our love to Him.” Such remarks always touch the Abyssinians for a moment; but they are light and inconstant in all that is not

according to general custom. They asked me what is the best prayer. I explained to them what true prayer is—the expression of the feelings of a humble heart. When the Abyssinians speak of prayer, they believe that the reading of any book whatever, which relates to religion, is praying: however, they account the Psalms the best prayers. Not that they think of asking of God what David asked; but they believe, that in reading the Psalms, or, if they have not time to do it themselves, in having the Psalms read for them by another, they are preserved from the influence of bad spirits: that is, most frequently, from physical maladies, which they attribute to the influence of demons or sorcerers.

June 7, 1830—I had people at my house all the day. I had a long conversation with Guebra Haiwat on the origin of evil in man; which I showed him to consist principally in a want of faith, manifesting itself by an inordinate desire of knowing more than God has been pleased to reveal to us; and that, too, in opposition to obedience to His commandments. He at once applied this to their disputes on unrevealed points of religion. The conversation then turned on the Invocation of saints; but he only made common observations on all idolatrous sects. At the close, he confessed that the first Christians called only upon the Lord; and that the invocation of saints is a want of faith in God—a sin. It cost him much to confess that the Virgin Mary was a sinner; yet he acknowledged that she could only

call God her Saviour, because, without Him, she was, like other human beings, lost, by reason of sin. I have observed, that, like the other Abyssinians, he is very fearful of being found wanting in that respect which is considered due to the saints. It is not that the Abyssinians believe they shall offend God by neglecting the invocation of saints; but they fear lest the saint whom they have neglected should cause their death during the night. I do not know how far travellers may have reason for saying, that the opinion entertained by the Abyssinians, concerning the Virgin and the saints, cannot be spoken against without risk of danger: but I know that I every day clash with their opinions, and I have not yet seen any one lose his temper with me. The more bluntly I reprove the priests and others, the more those who hear it respect me: they conclude from it, that I am not a flatterer, like themselves, and that I cannot endure falsehood. It is true that I always endeavour to express myself, "*suaviter in modo, fortiter in re.*" Now, almost all those who come to see me, ask for the Gospel; so that, if I had a thousand copies, I could distribute them advantageously. At the beginning, the Gospel, in Amharic, was looked upon with a kind of indifference, as if the Ethiopic were far preferable; but since the Etchegua has begun distributing the six copies, which I gave him, to the first Alacas, that opinion has entirely changed. There are even several priests who say that the Ethiopic

ought to be laid aside, to read the Gospel only in Amharic, in order that it may be understood by everybody. A priest said to me, to-day: "I much regret not having known you while you yet had copies of the Gospel to distribute; but I rejoice that you have sown the good seed in almost all parts of Abyssinia. God grant that it may bring forth fruit!" I also learn, that in several churches they are having copies taken of the Gospel in Amharic. I have not been able to sell any; for, besides a small number of persons to whom it was right to make a present of it, the Abyssinians of the interior have hardly whereon to live, in this time of war and scarcity.

June 8, 1830—This morning, Emmaha's wife bought for me, in the market, a pot of honey; but, on the way, Achaber's soldiers took it from her by force. I, in consequence, sent a servant with her to Achaber; who immediately caused it to be restored; saying: "Why did you go and tell Samuel that my people had taken his honey? You should have come straight to my house, without saying any thing to any one; for I will not suffer the least harm to happen to him. Go; let no one know that my people were attempting any wrong to the *Guebts* (White)." For some time past, there has scarcely been any honey to be bought; which is the reason why those who possess a little authority have always soldiers in the market, to take by force all the honey they can find.

I read the 24th chapter of St. Matthew with

Habeta Selasse. Alaca Waldab had explained it this morning to his disciples; but Habeta Selasse was not satisfied. I asked him how they manage to retain the explanation of the Bible which they hear, as they do not write, and have no book by which to go over the lecture again at their houses. To which he replied, that a small number among them meet together once a week; that one of them reads the portions of text which they have had during the week; and at every passage which is a little difficult, they stop to ask one another what is the meaning of it. He told me that Alaca Waldab possesses the whole Bible, which the Abyssinians call "The eighty-one books." I asked him how much the Ethiopic Bible would cost, if one wished to buy it entire: to which he replied, that occasionally it could be bought for about a hundred dollars; because, since the King has ceased to have authority, nobody any longer studies; books are no more cared for. Those who wish to become priests confine themselves to learning to sing some of the church books, that they may earn a livelihood. He added, "Our country needs a reform."

June 9—It has been bad weather all day, and I am a little indisposed. I have not seen any one.

June 15—For some days past I have had people at my house from morning till evening; to whom I preached the glad tidings, as well as I was able, according to their different capacities: but I have been indisposed; I had every day an access of fever: hence I was unable to write. The cure

of Ozoro Waleta Teclit's brother, whom everybody looked upon as possessed, has brought me into great reputation, among some as a physician, and among others as a saint. The sick send and come from Dembea and Begameder to consult me; and the priests come from different places to visit me. When any persons disagree on points of faith, they appeal to my decision. I always tell them frankly what is my opinion, proving it by passages from the Bible: afterward, I draw from it the natural inferences, in order to lead them to their own consciences. When they are points on which the Bible does not speak, I confine myself to telling them, "God has not revealed it; we know nothing about it." I have constantly remarked, that nothing gains me every one's confidence more than this word, "I do not know." An ignorant young priest, Guebra Kidam, to whom I have sometimes spoken of the danger he incurs by leading the blind while blind himself, comes almost every day to see me. At the beginning, he found that reading the Gospel in Amharic was much more difficult than reading the Psalms and two or three books of Prayers, which he knows almost by heart in Ethiopic, without understanding any thing about them: but now he appears to have a sincere desire to know and understand the Word of God.

Yesterday morning Guebra Haiwat came very early, to tell me that I was wrong, the other day, in saying that Mary was a sinful creature like us, and that she was saved by the same grace that

saves us. He had found, in a book, that the world was created for the Virgin Mary (or for her sake). *Missionary*: "Your book is quite wrong; and I must tell you that its author is a liar; for the Word of God says, that all things were created by Jesus Christ, and for Him." *Guebra Haiwat* (striking his head): "Now I see that you are right, in saying that we must adhere simply to the Word of God."—After that, came an old priest from Shoa, who is said to be very learned. He put several questions to me on various articles of faith, and on the ceremonies of the English Church; and he appeared, in general, satisfied with my answers. When I spoke to him of the witness of the Holy Spirit in the heart of man, (Rom. viii. 16,) he appeared utterly astonished; as do all to whom I speak of it, as if it were a new doctrine. I often see that this makes a lively impression on those who visit me; for, without openly confessing so much, they plainly enough show that they are conscious of their want of this witness.

June 16, 1830—To-day and yesterday everybody was occupied with news concerning the war. One messenger after another arrived, to announce the victory which Mariam had gained over Oubea. Oubea took to flight, after having killed many more than he had lost. The friends of Mariam rejoice with trembling; because they believe that Oubea retreated only with a view to draw his enemy among some mountains, from which he cannot escape. As soon as they had received

news of the victory, the soldiers of Cantiba Cassai, and those of Achaber, fell to binding and plundering those friends of Oubea who happened to be in the city. One messenger after another came to inform me of it, and to advise me to go and sleep in the Etchegua's quarter; because everybody knows that I am a friend of Oubea and Sebagadis. Knowing that every word is reported, I simply say, that if I deceive myself in reckoning on the friendship of Achaber and Cantiba Cassai, it will be of no avail for me to go to the Etchegua's.

June 17, 1830—Received several visits. I had a long conversation with Habeta Selasse and Guebra Haiwat, on Original Sin, Infant Baptism, and the New Birth. On original sin the Abyssinians are not agreed. I have hitherto found only Habeta Selasse of my opinion; namely, that little children naturally partake of the corruption of their parents; and that if they die, it is in consequence of sin, the origin of which reaches back as far as Adam: but that they have been redeemed by Jesus Christ; and that they are not condemned, because they have not rejected the counsel of God. There are some who believe that physical death is natural to man, even from the Creation; and that Adam would have died physically, even had he not sinned. The greater part, especially the priests, believe, that at the moment of the conception of the body, God himself creates for it a soul, perfect in its kind; that is, a soul which is capable neither of growth nor of developement;—it is only

the imperfection of the body of a child which hinders the manifestations of the full faculties of the soul: for example, when a male child is baptized at the age of forty days, or a girl at the age of eighty days, its soul knows perfectly well every thing that passes. Whence they conclude; first, that it believes in Jesus Christ at the moment of baptism, and that consequently the child is purified from all pollution, and born again; then, that when an infant dies, whether by miscarriage or any other cause, before being baptized, it is on account of some sin which the soul committed before or immediately after birth: yet they do not say, whether such an infant is saved, or whether it is lost: some place it in a perpetual state of apathy. It is easy to understand that such a system may be readily overthrown by many proofs: even the Abyssinians are quickly convinced that it is erroneous; but, notwithstanding, when the first impression of the contrary begins to wear away, they always return to this; because, probably, the priests find their advantage in it. Notwithstanding this opinion, if an infant is, as they suppose, sick to death, they will baptize it as early as the first day of its life. As soon as an infant is baptized, they give it the communion; and it continues to communicate till the age of ten or twelve years. Between fourteen and forty years of age there are few persons who communicate, especially among the men; for either they are not married, and so live, too generally, an irregular life—and

it is a species of opprobrium for an unmarried man to communicate, without first making the vow of celibacy—or they are married to many women, and the priests will give them the communion only on condition of their putting away all those that are unlawful; as they can have only one lawful wife at a time. I believe that no one communicates without confession. Rather more women communicate than men; for two reasons: first, there are many, especially wives of the great, who are so shut up, that it is impossible for them to commit irregularities; and, even should that occur, they pay the priest, whom they have chosen, (for the priests are not all of the same stamp) to do penance for them; for the husband inquires sometimes whether his wife communicates regularly, and, if she does not, he concludes that she is unfaithful: however, there are many men who do not like their wives to communicate apart from themselves. The Abyssinians have only one lawful wife at a time, whom they very easily divorce; but they may not marry more than three successively. (There are, however, several priests who give the communion to those who have married more.) When a man is separated from his third wife, whether by death or divorce, he cannot communicate any more, not even at the hour of death, unless he become a monk. It is the same with wives. The Abyssinians are much more jealous than Bruce concluded from the character of Ras Michael.

I had afterward a long conversation with Guebra Haiwat, and then with a priest, on the Lord's Supper. They call the consecration of the bread and wine, which is raisin-juice and water, *mela-wate* (a change), and they are very much afraid of explaining this term: yet, when I urged them to explain it, both of them told me, that the nature of the bread and wine is not changed; that the bread remains bread, and the wine, wine; but that those who receive them with faith, receive Jesus Christ: this is why, after consecration, they call the bread, flesh, and the wine, blood. Among the Abyssinians there must be at least five priests and deacons to be able to give the communion. If a less number should do it, they would be excommunicated: yet, when I tell them that a single priest is sufficient, proving it to them by the example of Jesus Christ and St. Paul, they say that I am right. Many of those who visit me say, that, among the great people, they talk of requiring me for an Abuna, but there are others who oppose it.

Habeta Selasse told me that this morning there was a large assembly of priests at Alaca Waldab's, who did nothing but dispute on one single point; viz. When it is said that Jesus Christ is our Brother, the one party would have it that He was so by His incarnation, and, in this sense, Brother of all men: the other, that Jesus Christ is our Brother only by the anointing of the Holy Spirit; that is, because He received the Spirit in the same manner as Christians do, and in this sense He is

Brother of the faithful only. Habeta Selasse was much dissatisfied with this dispute. He had already questioned me on this point. I asked his opinion ; and he answered : " I believe, as you do, that, by His incarnation, Jesus Christ is Brother of all men ; for His genealogy reaches back as far as to Adam, and all the children of Adam are brethren : He is also a partaker of flesh and blood, as the other children. As Son of God, He is the *First-born among many brethren* ; that is, among those only in whom the Holy Spirit dwells."

June 18, 1830—To-day is the feast of St. Michael. Several priests have entreated me to go and kiss the church consecrated to this saint ; but I was not willing to go, which brought on a long conversation with them on the worship of images and the invocation of saints. When the Abyssinians go to church, it is never to hear the Word of God, hardly to pray ; for they only say, " I go to kiss the church of such a saint." They often say, for example, " I go to kiss St. Michael, St. George," &c. ; sometimes many churches one after another : and when they wish to say sincerely that a man is pious, they say, " He is one who kisses the church."

Afterward I went to congratulate Ozoro Waleta Teclit that her son, Dejj Comfou, was not killed in the battle of Sunday last. If I had not waited on her, she would have taken it ill ; for the Abyssinians very much fear being deficient in ceremonies. As to the manner of congratulating, it

is very simple: they only say, "He (God) has given you matter of joy;" and the other answers, "Amen," or "Do you rejoice." The Abyssinians do not willingly fight on a Sunday: but Mariam is of Galla origin; he prefers Sunday to other days, for fighting. When his soldiers are spoken of, they are called Gallas.

On returning home, I found a large assembly of people before my house. I bade them go in; but my house could not contain them all. There were seven or eight priests of Coscouam, who had previously consulted on the points of religion concerning which they wished to interrogate me, all of them subjects that I have already described. Those of Coscouam admit only two births in Jesus Christ. When I saw that my house could not contain them, my heart glowed with love and pity. I addressed a discourse to them on the conversion of a sinner by the operation of the Holy Spirit. They were as attentive as any in a European Protestant Church. When I had finished, the priests gave me their hands; and all retired quietly together. I returned thanks to the Lord for having unloosed my tongue, for I expressed myself at least as easily as in Arabic: while often, when treating of worldly subjects, I have found difficulty, both in understanding others and in expressing myself.

I cannot yet tell whether I shall be obliged to pass the rainy season here: there only remain a few days; and the merchants do not yet know

whether they can go to Massowah. Formerly, the caravan from Gondar passed between two hostile armies without any fear; but, now, no one trusts to Mariam; and for my own part, seeing that the people of the country dare not travel, I have but little taste for going by myself across a desolate country: but I have only two dollars in my purse, to carry me through the winter; and every thing is very dear at Gondar at present. A small sheep sells for a dollar; and scarcely teff enough is to be found to make bread. One of my servants has done nothing, for a week, but run about the city looking for a little teff to buy: but He who feeds the birds will feed us, according to His wisdom. We have not yet suffered from hunger, neither myself nor my servants; but we have begun to live by the chase. Yesterday I went, with one of my servants, to seek for food on a mountain near Gondar; but we could get a shot at only two partridges. To-day my servants brought me a fine gazelle, which two men could hardly carry. I think it is better to seek a livelihood by hunting than to beg, especially at a season when the people of the country have hardly whereon to live.

June 19, 1830—To-day I have had a long discussion with the Etchegua: at first, on the anointing of Jesus Christ; because now several priests and Alacas are of my opinion, that it ought not to be called "a birth." He put several captious questions to me, to bring me over to his side: and

when he saw that I was not caught, he attacked the question from quite another ground. I should not have thought him so subtle. He denied original sin, affirming that all infants are born pure: but I believe it was only because he was driven to a strait; for he wished to prove by that, that as children, pure and without corruption, are born anew by baptism, so Jesus Christ, although pure and holy, had to be born anew by the operation of the Holy Spirit, in order to be the *first-born among many brethren*. (Every one must perceive how much such ideas obscure the doctrine of man's regeneration.) Whence he also wished to conclude, that since the fall of Adam there had not been a child of God upon earth, otherwise Jesus Christ would not have been the *first-born among many brethren*. The Abyssinians, like the Greeks, &c., believe that the Old-Testament saints did not enter into glory till after the death of Jesus Christ. I told him that the Bible did not furnish clear proof that they entered into glory before; but yet Jesus Christ, before His death, represents Abraham and Lazarus as being in rest; whence we must at least conclude that they were not in a place of torment. To that he replied, that they were in hell, itself a place of torment; but that God had prepared them an asylum, where they felt neither grief nor pain. This conversation brought us to the Virgin Mary: and when I began to prove to him that she was a sinner, he kindled with an

indignation which he wished to hide ; but not having any passage of the Bible to prove the contrary, he confined himself to maintaining that she was without sin, as well as Jesus Christ. When my servants, who were outside, heard that the Etchegua got angry, they came to tell him that we had much to do, and begged him, according to custom, to let me go.

I retired very much dissatisfied with the Etchegua, and still more so with myself ; for my heart was hard, I expressed myself with difficulty, and the clearest passages of the Bible did not present themselves to my memory during the whole of this conversation. This made me sad throughout the whole day. It came at times into my mind, that I ought not to allow myself to go into such discussions ; but when they tell me that the man Christ Jesus is not a child of God, but by regeneration through grace, as we sinners are ; or that a human created being is holy and without sin ; and when they would, so to speak, conclude thence that it is equal to its Creator and Saviour God ; I cannot refrain from clearly stating what are my sentiments, and what the testimony of the Word of God ; although it often carries me into controversies on which I am loath to enter. Since I have been in Abyssinia, my opinion of the Abyssinians varies almost every day. One day I rejoice in the hope that the Abyssinian Mission will soon be crowned with success, to the glory of God, and the salvation of

this poor people: at other times, I am sad and downcast, because it seems to me that all attempts will be useless. Sometimes God gives me grace to cast all my cares on Him.

June 20, 1830: Sunday—This morning I had a visit from a female Falasha, who is regarded at Gondar as the Queen of the boudas or sorcerers. She has all the attachment to her people and the Law, with all the activity, of an ancient Jewish woman. She came to ask me if I really desired to see a learned Falasha, as she had heard: and on my replying in the affirmative, she promised to bring me one: but she told me that this most learned priest is at Tchelga. There were several persons in the house. A man, who thinks himself very learned, began a controversy with her; but she closed his mouth. I did not think it right to enter into discussion, lest I should identify myself with the errors of the Abyssinians: but when the Jewess was gone out, I showed the Christian that he had been confuted only because he did not know the Word of God. The Jewess made a long discourse on Jesus Christ; which I should not have alluded to, but to show that enmity against the Anointed of God is found in every country of the world, modified only according to the intellectual capacities of the people.

The Falashas have the same histories of past times as the Christians of Abyssinia; only they are modelled after the Jewish fashion. But as

I have not found a learned man, I can learn nothing from them.

June 21, 1830—I passed a great part of the day in visiting the merchants of my acquaintance, to see if I could not find some one who would have courage to go with me to Tigré. One only, Stif Angueda, was willing to accompany me; but the priests opposed it, saying, that he would expose himself to death, and his family to ruin. They have excommunicated him, in case of his persisting in his intention to depart. Thus I find myself obliged to pass the rainy season at Gondar. Mariam is now at Antchateab. It is said that he destroys all he can. When he sends his soldiers to plunder the villages, he tells them to kill all within their reach, without sparing either women, children, or priests.

June 22—This morning the Jewess that called the other day came again, with her son. All in the house begged me not to let her enter, because they looked upon her as the most terrible of the boudas. When she was at a distance, I let them relate to me a number of stories of boudas—how they metamorphose themselves into hyænas; and how they metamorphose their enemies into cows, cats, and even stones; only restoring them to their former state by force, when they are known, and accused before the judges: besides which, they drink the blood of their friends, at any distance whatever, until the object of their greediness dies

with weakness. There are some who are afraid for me; but the greater part say, that the boudas can do nothing to a man who knows the Bible.

I passed all the afternoon with Lic Atecou, Habeta Selasse, and some others, discussing the Worship of Images, the Invocation of Saints, the Eucharist, Faith and Good Works, the operation of the Holy Spirit in the heart of Christians, and the influence of the devil on the children of disobedience: but Lic Atecou runs so much from one subject to another, that there is no coming to the bottom of any subject. In endeavouring to justify the worship of images, he made an observation which I had not before heard. He said to me: "Do you not worship the bread and wine of the Eucharist?" *Missionary*: "No; we only worship God in Jesus Christ; but if we did worship it, what is your conclusion?"—*Lic Atecou*: "The bread and wine of the Eucharist are not the true body of Jesus Christ: they are only the representation, like images." *Missionary*: "We no where see that the Apostles worshipped the bread and wine of the Eucharist. Granted, it is the true representation of the body of Christ, broken for us, and His blood shed for the remission of our sins; Jesus Christ has Himself taught us that: but the Word of God condemns both the making and the worshipping of images." Habeta Selasse spoke very little. Finally, I told them that the bad works of the Abyssinians are the bad fruits which grow on the bad tree of their creed.

This brought us to the work of Missions: all said that the Abyssinians are very culpable for not sending Missionaries to the Gallas, who would be well disposed to embrace Christianity.

June 25, 1830—These three days I have been desirous to write some letters, by two or three young persons who are to leave to-morrow evening for Tigré; but I have had so many people about me, that I have not yet been able to finish one single letter. It appears that there is much talk in the city about the conversations which I have had with some of the priests on Confession and Absolution; for almost all those who come to see me begin the conversation with this article. As they speak much now-a-days of the cruelties of Mariam, and of the general misery of the country, I endeavour to make them feel, that it is because they have departed from God that He has departed from them, which they generally acknowledge. I also begin to tell them all, that it is the priests who are the cause of the corruption and misery of the people; which many confess. When I tell them that the state of Abyssinia will never mend till they turn to God, they generally look at one another without saying any thing: sometimes they say to one another, "This is the only man in the country who is not afraid to tell the truth."

June 26—It has been bad weather to-day: for this reason I have seen no one, except Achaber. As I know that he is very much attached to me, I

asked him if he could not lend me a little money. Tears came into his eyes, as he said to me: "My dear friend, for some months no merchandise has been brought into the city, and I am obliged to give five thousand dollars yearly to Mariam, and am in the same want as you are; for I have no more than a single dollar. I am at this time waiting for a caravan from Derita: if it should not fail, I will share with you what it brings, without requiring any return. If it should not come, and you should not find any money elsewhere, I have a good gun to sell, the produce of which we may live upon together; and then God will provide." Achaber is a warrior, and gifted with much judgment. He is a true Abyssinian, who has much respect for the Word of God, without understanding it. In his office, he is a tyrant; he exacts from almost all the merchants; but toward his friends he is generous; and he would give even to his shirt, if he had one, to the poor and the churches.

June 27: Sunday—Habeta Selasse told me that Alaca Waldab and all his house are suffering from hunger. He bought food yesterday with his last two dollars, and he has fifteen persons at his table. He is Alaca of a church which belongs to Oubea: this is the reason why he is so much straitened.

June 28—I had many people of every kind, from far and near, Jews, Mussulmans, and Christians. A priest, who was at my house, said to two Falashas, that all the members of their sect are boudas.

The poor Falashas were a little offended. One of them replied very gravely: "We are not boudas. Supposing even that we were; first, you have no proof of it; therefore you affirm a thing which you do not know: this is much the same as a false testimony. Secondly, if boudas exist, you are obliged to believe that they can do nothing contrary to the will of God; consequently they can do no harm to those who have true faith in God. Thus the groundless fear which you have of boudas only proves your total want of faith in the God of Israel." Then turning himself to me, he said: "Now you, who know God, judge if I am not right." I was astonished at his eloquence; and was compelled to pronounce him right, in the presence of all the rest. I was unable to learn any thing further concerning the Falashas. I put several questions to them; but they always confined themselves to telling me, "We know nothing: you must inquire of one of our learned men."

June 29, 1830—I had only two or three short visits. I passed the rest of the day in reading hymns, and examining my heart: but, alas! I found so much evil and so little good, that I passed some hours in weeping, and beseeching God to have pity upon me, and entirely to renew my heart after His image.

June 30—This morning the King sent for me, to visit himself and his daughter, who are both indisposed. On approaching the palace, I heard joyful shouts from several women together. I

asked what it was ; when one of the servants of the King replied : “ Eight days ago the King caused a hand and both the feet of a thief to be cut off ; and then he left him, in his sufferings, in the middle of the market. During the night the hyænas ate him, and the next day the King was sorry that he had not been guarded. He demanded two hundred and fifty dollars from the merchants, in the neighbourhood of the place where the thief had been thrown, because they had not guarded him during the night. As they refused to pay, the King had them put in irons : and this morning they have paid the money, on which the King has let them go ; and their wives are now come to express their gratitude to him.”—Several persons blame the King for this act : others say that he has acted according to an ancient law, which requires, that when a man is thus thrown into the street, the neighbouring people shall guard him, till the King orders them to abandon him to his fate.

This afternoon the Etchegua sent for me, to dine at his house with several priests and others, in all fifty or sixty persons. I had just dined ; so that, while the others were at table, all very attentive, I had a long conversation with the Etchegua on the anointing of Jesus Christ : and on account of the people present, I made a kind of sermon, on the regeneration of sinful man by the operation of the Holy Spirit. When the dinner was over, the Etchegua commanded silence ; and said

to all, as a kind of approval of what I had just said, "Samuel gives us several new ideas. He says that Jesus Christ received the Holy Spirit as true Christians receive it; with this difference, that He received it without measure (John iii. 34); while we receive it in measure. This is what he calls 'anointing;' but he says that it ought not to be called 'a birth;' because the operation of the Holy Spirit in us consists in this, that it turns us *from darkness to light*, from sin to righteousness, and *from the power of Satan to God*. Till we receive the Holy Spirit, we are children of the devil, dead in sin, &c.: now, when the Holy Spirit is given to us, it produces in us a new life, and regenerates us after the image of God which we had lost by sin; and all this is called a 'new birth' in the Gospel. But," said he, "Jesus Christ had no need of this great change. He had no need to become a child of God through grace, because He was such by nature. So, when it is said that He was anointed by the Holy Spirit, He was so, to be Prophet, Priest and King, Christ, the Saviour. Samuel is always especially careful to say, that we ought not absolutely to receive any thing but the Bible as the rule of our faith and conduct. We never before had counsel like this." All the priests appeared to applaud his discourse, because he expressed himself as if he were of my opinion. Before they entered upon a new conversation, I asked permission to retire.

July 3, 1830—For the last few days, I have been

very much cast down in body and mind. I have not been out, and have had but few visits: with the greater part of those who came I confined myself to reading the Gospel, with the needful remarks.

July 4: Sunday—This morning I had a visit from a young man who often comes to see me; but who had not hitherto drawn my attention by any thing, excepting that every time he comes he immediately asks for the Gospel, and passes whole hours in reading alone. To-day he expressed to me his regret that he had not known me sooner, while I was distributing the Gospel: and he added, "I know that it is in the Word of God only that I can find the way of salvation, which I seek with all my heart. I read Ethiopic well, but I do not sufficiently understand it to venture to place my dependence on what I read."

After that came a monk, wrapped up in a sheepskin, and proud of his self-righteousness. He is much respected and feared by the Etchegua and the King, because he is not at all afraid to reprove them severely. He began, by saying to me: "I am unwell; and because I know that you are a friend of God, I take the liberty of telling you the cause. Some time ago, when living in the mountains, I bound my body so strongly with chains, that I broke one of my hips. Afterward, I beat myself with a stick, so as to bruise my whole body. To that I joined a continual fast, which has entirely ruined my health; but I console

myself, because I did all this from love to God, and a desire to be saved." I began, by proving to him, that all his mortifications were not only useless, but criminal; because they arose merely from a proud desire of being saved by his own strength. Afterward, I showed him, from several passages of the Bible, how man, a sinner, may be justified and saved by the alone grace of God in Jesus Christ. To my great surprise, instead of bringing forward the objections which the self-righteous commonly make, he only said to each passage that I cited, "Is it possible that it can be thus?" While we were talking together, a woman entered; from whom he immediately turned away, saying: "After having made the vow of celibacy, we are no longer allowed to look on a woman, or to listen to her voice." *Missionary*: "Whether a man be a monk, or of any other profession, it is our duty at all times to make a covenant with our eyes not to look upon vanity: but this is only attacking evil on its weak side; the source of evil is in our own hearts. If we give up our hearts to be purified by the grace of God, and if the Holy Spirit fill them with love for our Saviour, there will no longer be any law to turn away our faces from a person whom we may console and instruct; but it will be sweet to us to avoid every thing which might weaken in us the love of God. Let the Spirit of God work in you, and convert your heart, and you will then be able to serve the Lord in holiness, and in the *glorious*

liberty of the children of God." *The Monk*: "You are right: but my heart is corrupt; I feel that Satan dwells there, and I do not know what to do to obtain deliverance." I advised him to look to a crucified Jesus, who giveth us the victory.

July 5, 1830—I have had all day comers and goers; but I was not able to have connected conversation with any one, because all the people are occupied with nothing but the subjects of war and famine. A young man asked me, "Who is the Creator of the Mussulmans?" In explaining to him the cause of men's errors, I told him, among other things, that the same God who created us, created the *Shangalas* (Negroes), and that they are children of Adam as well as we. On hearing this, he said, striking his breast: "What! the *Shangalas* then are our brethren! And why do we make slaves of them?"—There are Abyssinians who, like this young man, are not far from polytheism; for they believe that men of different religions have also different creators: they are, however, few in number. The most part believe that all religions were created by God, and that each is good for him who is born in it; but they believe that in heaven they will have separate places. I believe that it is the attachment which they have for their relations that hinders many from changing their religion.

July 6—I passed the forenoon with two men; one from Wagara; and the other an Edjow-

Galla, who is now a Christian, although scarcely knowing any thing, yet gifted with much talent, like many other Gallas. They began by disputing about the superiority of their origin; which brought them to religion, and to the subject of the justification of man before God. The man of Wagara maintained, that it is by strictly observing fasting, by giving alms, by confessing and communicating regularly, that man is justified and saved. The Galla said, "All that is good: but this is not what saves us: it is by doing good, by avoiding lying, theft, &c. that we are justified." As they could not come to an agreement, they both asked me how men may be saved. I explained this subject to them, commencing by showing them what sin is, and what are its consequences. I then read to them Jesus Christ's Sermon on the Mount, with short remarks. As often as I wished to leave off, the Galla begged me to go on, till I had read all the sermon.

July 7, 1830—This morning, I told a young man that the Abyssinians are of Jewish origin, and that they still bear many marks of it: on which he put himself in a rage, to such a degree as even to insult me; telling me, that I was impure, a liar, &c. In the mean while, came one of the first Alacas of Gondar, to whom the young man immediately said: "Here is a man who comes from a distant country to insult us, to tell us that we have no faith, and that we are Heathens and Jews." *The Alaca*: "We are neither Heathens nor Jews:

we are Christians." *Missionary*: "It is true that I said to this young man that you have no faith in this country; because on every side I see and hear nothing but your bad works." *Alaca*: "We have faith, but we have not works." *Missionary*: "St. James says, that *faith without works is dead*; that is to say, it does not exist: and Jesus Christ says, that *the tree is known by its fruit*. When I said to this young man that you were Jews, I only meant to say that you were in part descendants of Jews; since you yourselves say that your royal family descends from King Solomon." *Alaca*: "It is true; but we do not call David and Solomon Jews. We are of the race of Israel; but, of this race, we give the name of 'Jews' to those only whose distinguishing characteristic is the rejection of Christ." *Missionary*: "Well; since you have come to that, I will again prove to you that you are Jews, for the same reason. You confess, it is true, Jesus Christ with the mouth; but you reject Him by your works, since you do not regard His commandments. You have not faith in Him; otherwise you would not invoke saints and angels. The distinguishing feature, which St. Paul attributes to the Jews in consequence of their rejection of Jesus Christ, is, that they seek to be justified by works, and that they do not *attain unto righteousness*. You, in like manner, putting aside the merits of Christ and His righteousness, seek to be justified by your works, such as fasting, alms, visiting several

churches to kiss the wood and stone with which they are built, &c., and yet you do not attain unto righteousness, as all your works prove. You have then urgent need to be converted, and to become true Christians." On that, the young man was again about to put himself in a rage; but the Alaca restrained him, and both retired without saying any thing.

July 8, 1830—Kidam Mariam has become security for the loan to me of twenty dollars, at ten per cent. interest, for three months: otherwise, at Gondar, and I believe in all the interior, they lend at a hundred and twenty per cent. yearly interest. It is said that the priests of Couarata, who are very rich, lend at two hundred and forty per cent. yearly interest.

I afterward went to the Etchegua's, where I found some learned men of the country, disputing on the subject of the anointing of Jesus Christ. The Etchegua's principal opponent was the first priest of Coscouam, Alaca Angueda. There are too many subtleties in these discussions, for them to bear reporting. I believe I have said, above, all that can be said on them. Both parties went into extremes. Suddenly the Etchegua said to all: "Nobody has yet given me a clear idea on the anointing of Jesus Christ, but Samuel, when he compared it to the anointing of prophets, priests, and kings in the Old Testament: let us to-day refer the matter to his decision." I said what was my opinion, as before; and the discussion

ended. The Etchegua then asked me what was the form of the table in our churches*. *Missionary*: "It has not always the same form; but it is like a common house-table; because when Jesus Christ instituted the Lord's Supper, He did so on a common table; since He had just supped with the twelve Apostles." *Etchegua*: "What kind of bread do you use in the Communion? Do you make the impression of images on it, or simply of the cross?" *Missionary*: "We stamp neither an image nor a cross on it; because Jesus Christ took the common bread of the table, &c." *The Etchegua*, to the priests: "There never came a man into Abyssinia like Samuel, who proves every thing he says by the Word of God, and who always persists in rejecting every other book when he has any thing to prove. The English are certain in all parts of their religion, because they admit only the Bible; while we often do not know the origin of our articles of faith and our ceremonies."

July 9—For some days past, peace has been talked of; but it was only to-day that positive news of it reached Gondar. When the Gallas wish to contract a perpetual friendship, they always introduce a marriage. For this reason, Oubea is to marry the daughter of the deceased Ras Imam, his friend, and the brother of Mariam: but this will, doubtless, bring on a fresh war with

* The Abyssinians call it *tabot* (ark): it is the principal object of their adoration. A church, when there is no "tabot" in it, is no more to them than a common house.

Tigré. It is said that Oubea is very much dissatisfied with Sebagadis, his father-in-law and brother-in-law, because he did not come to assist him in this war. If he had not reckoned on him, he says, he would not have put off accepting peace till half of his country was ruined. Sebagadis had sent him troops; but Oubea refused them, because he did not himself come at their head.

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August 30, 1830—Thanks to my Saviour, who has once more restored my health! May I, in health as well as in sickness, be consecrated without reserve to His service!

The illness, which I have had, began on the 10th of July, by a violent attack of fever; which during two days, from ten o'clock in the morning till ten at night, was incessant. Then, for twelve days, it assumed the form of a tertian fever, with coldness in the feet and hands, so that nothing could warm them, either day or night. After that, for eight days, I had most violent pains in the back and in all my limbs: my eyes, in particular, have suffered from the first day till now. When the violent pain ceased, all the disease concentrated in my stomach, which was considerably swollen for several days. As I had no proper medicines with me, I consented, at last, to submit to what is a capital remedy with the Abyssinians. I began by drinking a large glass-full of butter, with a little honey, as a purgative. The day following, I took the same dose, as an emetic. The third

day, the same dose again as a purgative; which relieved me of a quantity of worms, apparently long dead: lastly, again a double dose, as an emetic: after which, my appetite returned, and I found myself restored.

During the whole of this sickness, I have had to combat the belief in sorcerers. Every body wished to persuade me that I was the object of the greediness of one of the Falashas who came the preceding day to see me; so that I am no longer astonished that weak minds should fall in with the opinion of the Abyssinians on this point. But I admire the goodness of God, who preserved me from delirium, while every thing seemed contributing to make me lose my senses. One day, for example, when I was very weak, besides my servants and others, who came to look at me for a moment, I had a dozen persons all day round my bed, who wished to persuade me that I was internally devoured by boudas. "My dear friends," I said to them, "do not trouble me! I know I cannot persuade you that the notions and the fears which you have about boudas are without foundation, and are a proof of your want of faith; but I know, also, that I am in the hands of God; and that even were all the Abyssinians boudas, they could not pluck out a single hair of my head without the permission of my Saviour." On this they replied: "You are right with regard to the soul; but do you not know that Satan has done much evil to the saints?" *Missionary*: "I know it;

but you cannot give me any proof that boudas so much as exist." The people, looking at one another, replied: "That is just the proof of what we say; for those who are a prey to sorcerers will not even believe that they exist." They then gravely related a number of stories:—"Was not such an one devoured by boudas, for so long? Is not such an one dead? Have I not myself been ill of them? &c." My servant Malo, a little less superstitious than the others, was at first of my opinion; but he was soon shaken, and I was left to combat alone. When I spoke to them in a grave tone, they said softly one to another, and to me: "See! this is a sure mark of its being a work of the boudas, to make the object of their malice serious." When I smiled, they again explained it in the same manner. I wished to drive them out of the house, to have a little rest; but they all cried out together: "Here is the most incontestable proof that you are in the hands of the boudas, since you cannot bear those who wish to deliver you from them!" While I was speaking with one set, the others crept round my bed, to hide some amulets in it: but instantly I rummaged them out, and flung them under my mule's feet. At last they took me by force; and while some endeavoured to tie my hands and feet, others brought great bundles of amulets, to tie them round my neck, &c. "What," said I to them, "can I put up with this—I, who tell every body that amulets are the work of the devil, and a

heathenish invention?" Seeing that I gained nothing, I said to Malo: "Take care of yourself! if you let them put amulets in my bed, I will turn you off." On that, the amulets were done with: but they begged me to take the other known remedies against boudas; to which I immediately consented, with indifference. They began by making me take a powder, not much unlike bark: then they sprinkled the juice of a certain herb on my body and on my bed; and then introduced another herb into my nostrils, &c. During all this uproar, tears often came into my eyes, when reflecting on the ignorance and misery of this people.

During my illness, I lost the esteem of many priests, because I was not willing to send for a father confessor; and perhaps, still more, because I would not observe the fifteen days' fast, in memory of the death, resurrection, and assumption of the Virgin Mary. Emmaha and his family had begged me to fast these fifteen days, for their sake; and I had almost formed the resolution to do so, although their lenten food is very unwholesome: but two days before the fast, I was told, in the presence of several persons, that an old priest in the neighbourhood had said, that if I did not fast he would bring about my death. He had not said in what manner he would bring it about; but when I saw that the people believed he would do it by his prayers, I publicly declared that I would not fast, to show that this priest is a

liar. The priests dare not speak much against me ; for when they begin to do so, there is almost always some one ready to say to them, " Hold your tongue ! he has cast out a demon that all the priests of Gondar could not cast out ;" alluding to Ozoro Waleta Teclit's brother.

I have reason to believe that my sickness will not be without its use, even though I do not yet see the benefits of it. Always, when the weather allowed of going out, I had my house full of people, to whom I preached the Gospel, according as God gave me strength. I now avoid discussions as much as possible, and always endeavour to turn the conversation to the internal corruption of man and the unspeakable love of God toward sinners. There are several young people who appear affected, though they do not always open their hearts to me. I hope that God will make His Word *quick and powerful* in them ! I see very few priests ; but from time to time I collect some young people, to whom I relate the history of the Bible, with such remarks as most naturally occur : and when any one of them is alone with me, he relates to me what he has retained of it. There are two of them who repeat almost word for word what they have heard. I have now for some time taken a young man, named Guebrou, into my service : he appears to me likely to become useful, if the grace of God should continue to work in him. Every moment that he can spare he employs in reading the Bible, and can scarcely be made to quit it

to take his food. When he reads the Gospel, he always finds in it these three things—the love of God—the corruption of his past life (but not yet that of his whole heart)—and the wickedness of the priests. He is, as yet, only a beginner; but if the Spirit of God should render the Word effectual in him, he will not fear to give a reason of his faith in the presence of the whole world.

Sept. 3, 1830—From very early in the morning, till one o'clock in the afternoon, I had my house full of people. When one company arrived at the door, the preceding company went out. I found means to avoid, or to cut short, the perpetual discussions on the two or three births of Jesus Christ, by constantly asking them to address themselves to this question: "What is a birth?" They commonly remain mute; but when I press them, they all say, "We do not know." I then say to them: "Thus you see that for more than three centuries you have been disputing on a word which is, to you, without meaning." On this remark, they usually say to one another: "This is the Abuna that we need to reconcile us. The Abunas who come to us from Egypt are ignorant: all they do, is, to add obscurity to our darkness." To-day, on my explaining to them the word "birth," they were all enraptured. One said, "Now I understand this point:" and another, "It seems to me, also, that I see it more clearly: I wish to reflect more upon it." The explanation which I gave them is as follows:—"A birth is a passing from dark-

ness to light. David says, that God forms us in darkness (*I was made in secret*, Psalm cxxxix. 15). The birth of the body is, then, a passage from darkness to the light of this world. The whole Word of God says, that, before conversion, all men are spiritually plunged in darkness; and those who are converted, or born anew, it calls the *children of light*. Thus the birth of Jesus Christ of the Virgin Mary is, like our physical birth, a passage from darkness to the light of this world. The Holy Scripture says also of God, that He dwells in darkness. He is light in Himself: but a light inaccessible to all creatures: to the creatures He is darkness. Now Jesus Christ is called the visible image of the Invisible God; that is to say, He is, so to speak, come out from the darkness in which the Divine Essence dwells, to manifest Himself to the creatures, and in the creatures to manifest Himself. This is what is called the divine birth of Jesus Christ, before the creation of the world: this, then, is also, in a sense, a passage from darkness to light. Now, where is it that the Word of God speaks of the act or the consequences of a third birth?—It is impossible entirely to escape explaining oneself on this question; otherwise one would be regarded as very ignorant, or very crafty.

Sept. 4, 1830—This morning I went to see the Etchegua, who is ill. On going out, I found Alaca Stephanos, who introduced me to Ayto Googsa, son of Dejaj Sedat, who has for some time wished

to see me. Immediately on entering, he told me that he had seen one of the copies of the Gospel which I had distributed, and that he desired, with all his heart, to obtain one. There were several persons round him, who put a number of questions to me about England, till the sky became covered with clouds, and I rose to return to my house before the rain. Then Googsa said to me, with an air of sadness: "It was not for this conversation that I desired to see you. I should be glad to speak to you concerning the Gospel, and to put myself under your instructions: but come again after to-morrow, if you can."

On re-entering my house, Alaca Waca and Guebra Haiwat came. They at first led the conversation to the anointing or third birth of Jesus Christ. I asked of them, and explained to them, what a birth is, as yesterday. As usual, I terminated this conversation by some remarks on the misery of man, and the immense love of God, who became man to save us by His sufferings and death. This observation always appears to touch them; but the Spirit of God alone can give them a lively and effectual sense of the love of the Redeemer. He it is, also, whom I pray to render quick and powerful those words of mine, the coldness and deadness of which I have too often cause to deplore.

Sept. 5: Sunday—To-day a young man, not among the most ignorant, asked me if Sunday (*Sanbat*) was a great saint; as his feast is cele-

brated every week, while those of other great saints, as St. Michael and St. George, are only celebrated once a month. All the beggars personify Sunday; asking alms for love of Sunday, as for the love of a saint: and they add, "May Sunday keep you! May Sunday justify you!"—I sometimes hear people call the Archangel Michael, God.

Sept. 6, 1830—I passed the forenoon with Lej Googsa, and his people. I read to them the first chapter of St. John and the fifth of St. Matthew, with some remarks. Googsa told me, that lately one of Cantiba Cassai's friends being very ill, Cassai laid the Gospel which I had given him on his heart, and in one single night he was perfectly restored.

Sept. 7—Lic Atecou came, as usual, to take a lesson in geography, with some of his friends. Some time ago I happened to say, that it is not the sun which turns round the earth; but that it is the earth that turns round, to receive the blessing which God has placed in the sun. Since then, a small number of the most learned people of the city come from time to time together to my house, to take lessons in geography; which they regard principally as a study of the works of God, necessary to the understanding of the Bible. To this I add the little that I know of the history of nations; for I find, that, next to the Bible, nothing suggests remarks more touching to the heart than history.

Sept. 10—To-day is the feast of St. John the Baptist, in commemoration of his death. This morning, all the city of Gondar went to bathe in the rivulet called Caha, to the west of the city, where the Church of St. John the Baptist is situated. Till noon, the rivulet was full of people, all promiscuously collected together—men, women, children, horses, &c.; some partly dressed, but more than a third without any covering. Several persons invited me to go; but I would not stir out of the house, because on all occasions I condemn this indecent custom. It is not a religious act; and yet, for all this, there are some people who would think themselves to blame if they did not go. Two women, who went to bathe this morning, before day, were drowned. In the month of January, in memory of the baptism of Jesus Christ, the Abyssinians have again a similar ceremony, which they call Baptism; but it is then conducted with a little more decency, because it is a religious act, and nearly everywhere the women bathe separately from the men. The priests stand on the most elevated spot, with the ark of the church, and crosses, to bless the water: the people then throw themselves in, all together, plunging beneath the water, and coming out again immediately.

After bathing, several Alacas came together to my house; and being of two opposite parties, they at once began their controversy on the births of Jesus Christ. The principal point, as far as it

can be described, is this :—The one party say that Jesus Christ received the Holy Spirit as man, in order to be able to accomplish the work of His mission, as perfect man ; that, consequently, the Holy Spirit dwelling in Him was not inherent in His human-nature ; it was a gift received from the Father, in the same manner as we receive the Holy Spirit: this is what they call a third birth. As for the union of the Divinity with the humanity, that took place at the moment of conception ; and Jesus Christ, the man, became by this union Child or Son of God, by grace, that is to say, by gift, at that very moment : therefore, when asked to what party they belong, they reply, “ I am for THE UNION ! ” The others, few in number at Gondar, say that Jesus Christ anointed Himself ; that He received nothing from the Father ; and that the word “ anointing ” means that Jesus Christ, as man, was conceived by the Holy Spirit ; and that thus He is, as man, the Son of God by nature ; and consequently Flesh (the man Jesus Christ) is the Creator of the Universe. They say, “ I am for THE ANOINTING ! ” In the midst of this confusion of words, these two parties are so opposed, that they have not received the communion together for some years. At Gojam, they excommunicate and curse one another. Gojam and Tigré are almost wholly for THE ANOINTING, and the rest generally for THE UNION.

After having disputed a good while, they all begged me to tell them clearly what was my

opinion on this point. Not to offend them by a refusal, I explained to them this article, as on other occasions. They then all said to me: "If we had an Abuna like you, he alone would be able to reconcile us." Afterward, I strongly censured them for passing all their lives in disputing on points and words which none of them comprehend, rather than meditating continually on the love of the Saviour, who became man to bear *our sins in His own body on the tree*; and instead of examining themselves, to learn whether they have been anointed by the Holy Spirit, and have part in the redemption of Jesus, &c. I finished by saying to them, "I am sure, that, when you read the Bible, your mind is only engaged in looking out for passages which may favour your particular opinion, rather than seeking there for the whole truth." To this the greater part replied: "It is true: for myself, I only look for passages to prove what I already believe." Those of the UNION party added: "We would willingly renounce the expression, 'third birth,' to effect a reconciliation:" but the other party remained silent.

Sept. 12, 1830: Sunday—I was visited only by Habeta Selasse and Guebra Haiwat, with whom I passed all the afternoon in conversing, without any disputations, on the difference which ought to be made between the Word of God and all human writings whatsoever; on the depravity of the human heart; and its only remedy, Christ Jesus.

Sept. 13—Passed the forenoon with a priest,

water-courses. At Gondar, it is the general belief that there is always a demon in the Angrab, which flows by the side of the city. When a person is drowned, as is often the case during the rainy season, his death is always attributed to the malign influence of the demon who is in the river: on this account they said to me, to-day: "If we were to let you go, in your simplicity, it would be as if we threw you into the hands of the demon, who would kill you. God would demand an account of us, &c."

Sept. 19, 1830: Sunday—I passed the afternoon with Habeta Selasse and Lic Atecou. Habeta Selasse opened his heart to me, in reference to some actions of his life, in a manner which leaves me no doubt of the confidence which he has in me. He is sometimes very sensible of his spiritual misery; but the too great respect which he has for human traditions, and for aged men of learning, embarrasses him in the search after salvation.

Sept. 20—My servant has returned from Tigré, with several letters from Europe and Egypt: among others, one that announces the death of my sister: also with fifty dollars, that Sebagadis has given him for me; so that I can now return to my brother Kugler, in Tigré. As soon as I said to Emmaha that my sister was dead, all the family and my servants collected together around me, to weep aloud; but I bade them be silent; and took occasion, from the event, to speak more seriously

to them of the end of our existence here below ; of the way of salvation ; of the happiness of the elect after death ; and of the misery of the wicked.

Sept. 24—During the last few days, I have had my house so full of people, from morning till night, that it was impossible for me to write a single word of the interesting conversations that I have had with several persons. Being about to leave so soon, I no longer dispute on any point of their controversies. I commonly begin the conversation by speaking to them of the love of God for sinners, especially when there are new comers-in. I then endeavour to make them feel their national and individual corruption, in terms as strong as possible ; showing them that their corrupt morals are the natural and necessary consequence of the corruption of what they call their faith. There are several, one especially, a priest, who appear to be concerned about the state of their souls ; but I have not, as yet, found one who has a vital knowledge of Jesus. I have succeeded in exciting an ardent desire in several persons to study St. Paul's Epistles ; but I have no more copies left to distribute. What draws so many people to my house just now, is, the news of the death of my sister. They come to console me, according to custom ; and I see that what I now say to them makes more impression on them, than what I said formerly.

There is a general cry among the people, that I ought to be asked to become their Abuna : but

I reply, that a man who fears God, and who keeps His word, cannot be Abuna in Abyssinia, unless the people would submit to a general reform of their religion;—that if God should give them a good Abuna, such an one would begin by founding an Institution to instruct young people destined for the sacred ministry; and that he would not lay hands on any one who was not well acquainted with the Bible. The more I speak to them against their superstition and wickedness, the more I gain the respect of every body. I believe, that if I now wished to make myself pass for an angel, there would hardly be a tenth part of them that would doubt my being one. From all parts of the interior, people come and tell me that they have heard speak of me, and that they have seen the Gospel which I have distributed in the country. The Etchegua speaks favourably of me to all those who come to see him: but report says, that Mariam is very much dissatisfied with him, having been excommunicated by him; and that he (Mariam) intends to install a new Etchegua.

Oct. 3, 1830: Sunday—To-day a new Etchegua is consecrated, Guebra Selasse: but the service more resembles the coronation of a king than the consecration of an ecclesiastic; besides which, there is such a tumultuous disorder, that it would be impossible to describe the ceremony. I had a desire, however, to see the new Etchegua; and for that purpose I went to the church: but he appeared so confused, that it was impossible to

judge of his physiognomy. His great reputation as a saint, grounded on the austerity of his life, makes me fear that he may not prove so liberal as the preceding Etchegua, Philippos. The day before yesterday I went to see the late Etchegua, after his apparently voluntary retirement; and instead of complimenting him with complaints, as all the rest did, I congratulated him that God had withdrawn him from the situation in which he was before immersed; so wearying, and so dangerous to his soul. I added, that if the salvation of his soul was dear to him, his present state, as a private man, was much better for him than his former situation. Since then, he repeats my words to all who come to see him; adding, that I am the only man that knows the truth, and speaks in sincerity of heart.

As I intend leaving to-morrow for Tigré, my house has been for some days past a rendezvous of people of all sorts from morning till night. Frequently I am not able to take any food till eight o'clock in the evening. Desiring to leave a favourable impression, I no longer dispute with any one: I simply endeavour to lead all the conversations to Jesus Christ Crucified. There are several who appear alive to their spiritual misery; and it is not without hope that I leave it to the care of my God, to water and make fruitful the seed of His Word, which, during these six months, I have scattered over an extensive tract of country,

according to the measure of grace which He has given me.

It is not without mingled emotions of joy and grief that I quit this city; in which, for the first time in my life, I have felt myself a Missionary. If I may judge of Abyssinia from its capital, our Mission may expect happy results from its labours; for there is, in many, a hungering and thirsting for the Word of God, such as I have never found elsewhere. The most part are convinced of their own ignorance, and, in a great measure, of the ignorance of the priests. They are sensible of their need of a Saviour and a Mediator to bring them to God; but, on the other hand, with this high feeling are combined almost all the obstacles with which the Messengers of Christ will have to combat; for the pretended power that the priests have to bind and to loose, the invocation of saints and angels, fasting, pilgrimages, &c., are so many false Saviours, and so many Antichrists, which the devil has invented to turn weary and heavy-laden souls far away from the true Saviour. Reason is not unable to furnish proofs of the uselessness of all these things; but it is the Word of God alone that can annihilate superstition, in all its conflicting forms, by regenerating the heart. For this reason, the grand aim of Evangelical Missions, in this country, should be to multiply copies of the Bible, and to instruct the people in the Holy

Scriptures. All other acts of benevolence should be made tributary to the accomplishment of this end; for when men's hearts are illuminated by the light of the Gospel, all human doctrines and inventions fall of themselves; and in proportion as superstition yields to the Truth, corruption of manners gives place to holiness of life.

CHAPTER III.

ARRIVAL AT ADOWAH—VISIT TO SEBAGADIS—ARRIVAL OF THE REV. C. KUGLER—OPHTHALMIA—MR. KUGLER WOUNDED BY THE BURSTING OF A GUN—HIS LAST ILLNESS AND DYING SCENE—DIRECTIONS CONCERNING HIS FUNERAL, NOT TO CONFORM TO THE ABYSSINIAN SUPERSTITIONS—HIS BURIAL—INDIGNATION OF SEBAGADIS AGAINST THE PRIESTS—CONVERSATIONS WITH THE YOUNG TECLA GEORGIS—ACCOUNT OF A DAMOTERA'S STING—ALARMING NEWS FROM THE SCENE OF WAR.

ADOWAH.—It was with the greatest difficulty that I could quit Gondar (on the 4th of October 1830). I had told only a very few persons that I intended to quit their city on that day. It was my plan to leave early in the morning, so as to have a visit only from some of my more particular friends; but when I was on the point of leaving, the King sent for me to wait upon him, to beg that I would remain at least another eight days; to which I would not consent. On returning to the house, I found so great a concourse of people, that I was hardly able to cross the garden, on going in. I took leave of the greater part, each one individually, exhorting them unceasingly to seek the salvation which is in Jesus. At ten o'clock in the morning I was able to make good my departure, accompanied, for a considerable way on the road, by a little army of my acquaintances. Habeta Selasse accompanied me nearly a league on the road, expressing his desire to see me soon

return, that we might go together to commence a mission among the Gallas, near his village, Marfoud, Shoa.

From the first day of travelling, my eyes were so bad, that it was impossible for me to write. Besides which, nothing remarkable passed: we were a very small company; and had to return by the same road that I had taken in coming, on account of the frequent fevers that occur on all the other routes during the whole of October. I and my people suffered a little from hunger on the way; first, because I had nothing left to buy provisions with at Gondar, and then, because Oubea had told me to pass his way, on my return from Gondar; so that I reckoned on his furnishing me with provisions as far as the Tacazze; but when I arrived at Debâree, I learned that he had suddenly set off, some days before, to punish the rebels of Walcaït. On passing near Ebena, I sent a servant to present my respects to a lady whom I had seen when passing the first time. Immediately she set off with bread and beer, to wait for me in the way. She begged me to go and lodge at her house, if ever I repassed that road. It seemed as if we had met with a Melchisedec, Gen. xiv. 18; for on that day we had no more than one morsel of bread to divide among thirteen persons. The next day we walked from day-break till half-past seven in the evening without taking food, except a little barley that my servants gathered in a field by the road-side. I would not eat of it; but

I thought the passage in Deuteronomy xxiii. 24, 25, applicable to them*. In the evening, the Governor of Toursogua received us very well; and the following day we crossed the Tacazze. All the villages from Gondar to Sancaber were burned during the late war, except Kedous Georgis Faras Sabar.

On the 17th of October I arrived at Adowah, where Sebagadis had already arrived on the 15th. Immediately on my entering, he bade them set a couch for me, which the Abyssinians call a throne, by the side of his; a compliment which he has never shown to any one. In general, during the two days that we spent together, he manifested so much friendship toward me, that I cannot doubt his sincerity. When I told him that I was about to leave him for a year, he began to weep; and said to me: "Why will you go? Tell me only what you wish that I should do. I am ready to do whatever you ask; for I love you, not because you are great, but because you love God, whom I desire also to love with my whole heart." I wished to kiss his hand; but he would not permit me, till after he had kissed mine. He set off to-day to the war against Mariam; and against Oubea, who has, within a short time, become his enemy.

* *When thou comest into thy neighbour's vineyard, then thou mayest eat grapes thy fill, at thine own pleasure; but thou shalt not put any in thy vessel. When thou comest into the standing corn of thy neighbour, then thou mayest pluck the ears with thine hand; but thou shalt not move a sickle unto thy neighbour's standing corn.*

Oct. 20, 1830—This day has been a feast for me, after eight months of solitude; as yesterday evening my brother Kugler arrived here, from Gouila.

* * * * *

Dec. 18—Some days after my arrival at Adowah, I had an attack of ophthalmia; the pain of which I always checked, by filling my eyes with a pinch of snuff, several times a day. This remedy I learnt from a negro; and I have already, several times, during three years, tried it with success. When it is applied in good time, it drives away the ophthalmia in a single night, which otherwise takes its course of from eight to twelve days; but the snuff always stops the pain. When cured of the ophthalmia, I began to suffer in my stomach. This complaint, though not attended with much pain, yet brought with it much inconvenience; as I could not, at the most, read more than one chapter in the Bible a day. Two lines of writing entirely turned my head. I took a daily ride on my mule, but that was not sufficient. As there is much game in the neighbourhood of Adowah, I went out to the chase two or three times every week, that, by having an object in view, I might forget the fatigue; and when exhausted with over-fatigue, I mount my mule, and return home. These exercises did me so much good, that one day I induced my brother Kugler, who felt himself indisposed, to come with me. He found so much benefit from it, that he resolved, two days after, again to take the same course,

especially to go and hunt wild-boars, the fat of which he wanted, to make ointments. On the 10th of December, as we were passing by the side of a river before sun-rise, we saw at a distance a great beast in the water, which we took for a crocodile. I said to Kugler, "Which of us shall go and shoot this animal?" He replied immediately, with a tone of apprehension, "I will go." On approaching, he thought it was a hippopotamus, and fired upon it; but his gun burst, and made several wounds in his left arm, which are not yet cured: his recovery, however, goes on very fairly, so that we hope nothing will come of the accident. My chief care only is, to exhort him to remain quiet, and to be as tender of his arm as possible; a point which costs him much, because he thinks himself out of danger.

Dec. 23, 1830—To-day Kugler has had an accident. Believing himself entirely restored, he laid himself down on his left side, and leaned his head on his wounded hand, to read. While reading, he made an involuntary start; and all on a sudden the blood began to flow from his wound, which had appeared as good as healed. I was not with him; but he told me, that he had lost at least two pounds of blood. This occasioned a slight degree of fever. I should nevertheless have hoped that this would turn to nothing, if he had not for some time past continually alluded to his approaching death. While I was ill, now more than a month ago, he, being then quite well, once

said to me, with a very serious air: "If I should soon quit this world, as I often have a presentiment that I shall, write to all my acquaintances who may have hurt my feelings, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, and tell them that I have not the least feeling of rancour or ill-will against any one; and if I have offended any, I ask forgiveness." He named some to me in particular.

Dec. 24—Received several letters from Europe. Two of them especially much excited Kugler. This evening he has more fever than yesterday.

Dec. 25—Kugler has again had a considerable loss of blood; but this evening he is very well.

Dec. 26: Sunday—Kugler has been well all the day; but he always speaks of death, as if he expected it soon.

Dec. 27—Kugler was well till toward four o'clock in the evening, when he begged me to untie his arm, to apply a new ointment to it, with which I was not acquainted; saying, that it contributes to stop the blood, by promptly closing the wound. I was at first a little opposed to it; saying, that since he had already, for two days, not lost any blood, and as he was not in great pain, it would be well to leave his arm as it was, for another day; but at last I yielded to his entreaties. Afterward he felt himself so well, that he wished to come and sup at my house*. I advised him

* The houses being very small, we have taken two, that we may be able to labour more freely: but we have our table in common.

not to go out: but he said that he had nothing amiss with him, excepting the want of a little exercise. On the way, he cried out, "Here is blood!"—and in a very short time he lost at least two pounds. On our reaching the house, the blood stopped; but he fainted away for a little while: afterward he felt himself well.

Dec. 28, 1830—Feeling the need of a little exercise, I told Kugler that I wished to take a short turn on my mule, if he found himself well: to which he replied, that he had passed a very good night, and that I was quite at liberty to go. I went out a little before day, and toward nine o'clock I returned. On entering, I was much alarmed to learn that he had again suffered loss of blood, a circumstance which had not before occurred in a morning; as also to find our brother Aichinger (a German carpenter) very ill. Kugler was suffering in every kind of way. The agitation in all his limbs was so great, that he could not remain quiet for a moment, and every motion caused pain in the arm: meanwhile, such was the strength of his soul, united with confidence in God, that it concealed his pain from every body. While conversing together, he said to me: "The blood that I have thus far lost will not deprive me of life; but the uneasiness that I have felt for some days past makes me fear that some rust from the iron which struck me may have entered my veins. It is possible that I may die of this accident; and in this view I have one thing on my heart, which

burdens me. After my death, it will devolve on you to make it known in Europe: but I know, that if you write, in general terms, that I was wounded in hunting, many persons would be offended at it. That would signify nothing, as to myself; for in this respect I have a pure conscience before God, who knows that it was not for pleasure that I went hunting on that day, but simply to preserve my health, and for the benefit of the sick of this country: but if this accident were generally known, I fear that many Christians might be scandalized at it; and that the world might take occasion to speak ill of the work of Missions, as if the Missionaries passed their time uselessly in hunting. After all, however, I am persuaded that the two Committees, in London and Bâsle, know me well enough not to be mistaken about me. You can write the whole to them: they will at once know whether they ought to publish it or not." I told him, in order to soothe his mind, that hunting and fishing are one and the same thing, as the same word expresses both, in Oriental languages; and that no Christian ever blamed the Apostles, that at one time they were preaching the Gospel, and that then they went fishing. Both are evil, only as they are made so.—About four o'clock in the evening he again lost blood; but not considerably, because we had every thing prepared to stop it: but his arm swelled, and caused him very acute pain.

Dec. 29—Yesterday evening, Kugler suffered

much. A cry escaped him; but instantly he said: "It is the will of God that I should suffer: I desire therefore to suffer with patience." A moment after he nearly fainted away; but immediately recovered. There were several persons assembled round his bed, to whom he addressed a long discourse in the Tigré dialect. I was very much surprised to hear him say, in a decided tone: "I am at the point of death!" When the people were gone out, he said to me: "I had almost forgotten my pain, when speaking: but now it is so violent, that it seems to penetrate all my bones." So saying, he untied his arm himself, the swelling of which continually increases. I prepared him a little opium, with camphor and spirits of wine, in which from time to time I dipped a linen rag, and applied it to his arm. In this manner I allayed the pain; so that he fell asleep at two o'clock, and slept till morning. Throughout the day he has been well; the swelling of his arm diminishes, and he is more calm than before: but at this moment (sun-set) his pulse is so full, so hard, and so irregular, that I much fear for the night. Aichinger has also suffered much these two days.

Dec. 30, 1830—It is with most poignant grief that I describe the scene of yesterday evening; but the Lord, who has supported me hitherto, will yet continue to sustain me. Yesterday evening, a little after sun-set, while we were conversing together on the advancement of the kingdom of God,

Kugler said to me, in a mild but urgent manner : "Gobat! come quickly! my blood is flowing in great drops." I immediately seized the linen that we had prepared; but so large a quantity of blood had already escaped, that, when I raised his arm, he fainted away, and the blood stopped. Aichinger, weak and suffering, sprang out of his bed, to come and help me. I almost lost my senses on seeing him, from the idea that I might possibly lose the only two brethren that I have in this country. Kugler soon came to himself; but his first words were, "I am going to die. I could have wished to live longer, that I might proclaim the salvation which is in Jesus to this poor people: but, the will of the Lord be done!" After that, he several times repeated, in the Tigré dialect: "I do not at all fear! Weep not for me. It is far better for me to die, than to remain here." He then began to pray, in Tigré: "Lord Jesus, bless me!—Shew mercy on me!—Receive me to Thyself! Thou art my Saviour —my Father! I have no Father but Thee!—I come to Thee! Receive my spirit! Prepare me a place near Thyself!" He then began to pray in German, saying the same words. He added: "I give thanks to Thee, O Lord, for all the mercy which Thou hast manifested toward me! Thou hast been favourable to me, to this very hour." He then said to me: "Gobat, salute all my brethren. Salute —: I have no commands for her." He again several times called upon the name of Jesus; and from time to time said: "Receive me!"

When his voice began to fail, he said to me: "I can speak no more. Tell these people" (a great number around him) "that Jesus is my portion; and that they must, on no account, weep as they are accustomed to do. Perform no *Tescar**." After having again several times called upon the name of Jesus, he said to me: "Speak to me of the Saviour: I can speak no more." I could not yet bring myself to believe that he was on the point of leaving me: my heart was full, at seeing him and Aichinger in such a state: so that, when I attempted to speak, my voice failed me. But I had the consolation to see his soul entirely occupied with the thought of Jesus, in a full assurance of faith. "Be of good courage!" I said to him: "the Lord will not forsake you, in life or in death. He never forsakes those who put their trust in Him." "I know it well!" he replied, with a tone of confidence: "He has never forsaken me." Having said these words, he again cast a look all round him; and then fell asleep so gently, that for two hours none of the attendants could believe that he was really dead. It was about nine o'clock in the evening (Dec. 29) when he resigned his soul into the hands of his Creator and Saviour.

* In this country, the relations and friends of a deceased person invite, at different times, many priests and poor people, to whom they give something to eat and drink, to engage them to pray for the soul of the deceased: this they call *Tescar*, *i. e.* "remembrance."

As soon as I announced that Kugler was dead, the men and women, of whom the house was full, began, according to the custom of the country, to weep and cry, as if each had lost an only son. Their cries were almost insupportable to Aichinger: but I encouraged him to have patience for a while, and not to wound their feelings: I thought it better to let them cry for about a quarter of an hour. I was expecting, according to custom, continual cries from them, till the burial. But when they had wept and cried about a quarter of an hour, I said to them: "My dear friends, I doubt not your friendship for my deceased brother; but your tears and your cries offend God. Wishing to do well, you commit a sin; First, because you heard my brother, when dying, tell you that he belongs to Jesus; that his lot is the best: consequently, you ought not to weep. Then, your cries do harm to Aichinger, who is ill. And, lastly, your cries and lamentations are a kind of rebellion against God, who has thus decided the lot of my brother: so I beg you to cease weeping, and to listen to me for a moment." Upon this, I made them a short discourse in Amharic, on 1 Thessalonians iv. 13; to which they listened with great attention. When I had finished, the most part told me that I was in the right; that Kugler had died in the faith; and that, under this conviction, they would restrain their weeping as much as possible. A Mussulman, who was present, said: "I have seen many persons at the moment of their death;

four have died in my arms; but I never saw faith triumph over death till this day!" One woman alone broke out in anger, and said to me: "It is not for myself that I weep, but for you! however, as you do not wish it, I will go." So saying, she went out. We passed the rest of the night in mournful silence; interrupted from time to time by remarks on the character of Kugler: but Aichinger suffered much.

Dec. 31, 1830—I have just passed two very painful days; but the Lord has supported me. My first care was to look well to Aichinger, and to see to it that the great number of persons coming and going should occasion him as little trouble as might be. The people who were in attendance at Kugler's death have had the goodness to warn all, who enter the house, not to weep aloud; which has much comforted me. All were for burying him yesterday, saying, that in this country a dead person cannot be kept more than one day in the house; which I opposed. This morning, however, I decided to have him buried about noon. Having been here only a short time, and almost all the men being at the war, I had no friends on whom I could depend: but the Lord gave me all the assistance that I needed. A young priest took measures, with all decorum, for his being interred in the same manner as they bury respectable people of the country.

Having determined not to observe any of the

superstitious ceremonies of the country, I knew beforehand that I should encounter opposition on the part of the priests: but at the moment that I was thinking of sending to the young prince 'Tecla Georgis, son of the deceased King of the same name, to get him to speak to the priests, he himself came to offer his services, and to ask me in what church I desired to inter my brother. "At the burial-ground of the church called *Madhan Alam* (the Saviour of the World)," I replied: "but I wish neither mass*, nor absolution, nor Tescar, nor any of your ceremonies, which are not founded on the Word of God. If the priests are willing to read a chapter of the Bible, and to pray to God for the living, I do not oppose it." He understood the explanation that I gave him of my resolution; and went yesterday morning to the priests, to ask them for one of the first places in the burial-ground. They replied, that Kugler could not be buried in the church; because he had not confessed, and had not received absolution before his death. To that Tecla Georgis replied, that many persons die suddenly without confessing, and that nevertheless they bury them in the church. *The Priests*: "We make no objection to that, provided we are directed to say masses, and pronounce the absolution over him." *Tecla Georgis*: "That cannot be; for his brother has told me, that before he (Kugler) died, he said

* The Abyssinian mass differs a little from that of the Papists: but I do not know what other name to give it.

that he would neither have absolution, nor mass, nor Tescar; because Jesus Christ had absolved him, and had pardoned his sins: besides which, in their country they have neither absolution nor mass." There were several persons present, who divided into two parties: and at last the priests yielded, fearing lest Sebagadis should be angry with them. After that, Tecla Georgis sent for me, to see if the place which he had chosen would suit me. When I arrived, the priests wished to begin their objections entirely anew. But I answered them in the presence of all the people: "You are yourselves sinners, and you need a Saviour to absolve you; consequently, all your masses, &c., answer no end, either to the living or to the dead. But I know why you require that I should have masses said and absolutions pronounced: it is, to get money. That is not very praiseworthy on your part: but that you, and all who are here present, may know that it is not from avarice, but from conscience, that I will have none of your services, I am ready to give you all that you can lawfully require." Their intention was sure enough to engage me to promise them money, but they would much rather have had me do it in secret: they replied, therefore, that if I would not commission them to pray for the deceased, they would have no money: but already, this very day, they have sent to tell me, secretly, that they are willing to accept whatever I would give them. I answered, that I had no

intention to give them any thing in secret. Three priests, who are not connected with this church, have openly declared for me: they are from the interior. To-day, previously to our retiring from the grave, one of them offered up a short prayer, which he finished with the Lord's Prayer. The whole was conducted with much propriety, and there was a very numerous attendance of persons.

Last night was spent in an edifying manner. There were many people in the house, but no crying was made. I read, at intervals, the 15th chapter of the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, the last three chapters of the Revelation, and some other passages; with remarks suited both to my own circumstances and to the spiritual wants of those present.

I could not have thought it possible for me to bear so many painful circumstances all coming together. In a strange country—with only two brethren, one of them dying in my arms, while I hear the sighs of the other in his sickness—opposition from various quarters—and duty calling me to avail myself of all these circumstances, to speak to the hearts of a great number of persons, for three days and three nights successively, without sleeping—all this might have seemed enough to crush my weak constitution; yet, notwithstanding all, I find myself, as to bodily health, quite well. May the help which the Lord has granted me strengthen my faith, and fill me with love toward Him, for ever!

Jan. 5, 1831—All these last days I have had my house full of people, coming to condole with me. I have endeavoured to speak to the hearts of all those who understand Amharic; and I have, for the first time, heard three or four priests asking me to explain to them what is true saving faith. One of them, about sixty years old, constantly tells me that he wishes to be my disciple; but I fear that he may have some little hidden motive: yet I have heard him publicly condemn some of their errors. Till yesterday morning, Aichinger suffered much, without being able to take any nourishment. Thinking that I perceived him to be under the same complaint that I had in Gondar, only that he suffered more, I ordered him the same remedy which had cured me. Yesterday morning I made him drink a large glass of tepid butter*, which operated like a miracle; for since drinking it, he has not suffered the least pain.

Jan. 7—To-day the servant that I had sent to Sebagadis, near the Tacazze, to acquaint him with the death of Kugler, returned. Immediately on receiving the intelligence, Sebagadis covered his face with his mantle, to weep: he then sent for several

[* See p. 244. Ludolf, in his History of Abyssinia, states, that the natives, "for want of convenient and proper utensils, shake the milk about in a skin (goat-skin), till it becomes butter." L. iv. c. 4. et Comm. It is used in this fresh state. Preserving butter by salt is the practice in colder climates. See various allusions made in Scripture to the use of butter: Judges iv. 19. and v. 25. Isaiah vii. 15, 22.—ED.]

of his great men, to weep with him: but immediately he countermanded this, and said: "I had forgotten my situation: it will be better for me to weep alone in secret: for if my enemies hear it said that we are weeping together, they will believe that it is on account of some brave officer, which will encourage them to refuse peace." Having said that, he again covered his face, and remained without uttering a single word for nearly two hours. Afterward, he asked my servant how, and where Kugler had been interred; who had assisted me, &c. When my servant told him that the priests wished to oppose his interment in the church, he suddenly rose up in anger, and immediately sent for the chief of the priests of Adowah, who was in the camp. As soon as the priest presented himself, he said to him, in the presence of all: "What, wretch that you are! you refuse a sepulchre to a stranger, who is a better Christian than all the priests of my country? Do you not know that Kugler was my brother? yes, my son? and you refuse him a sepulchre in the church that I have built?" The priest, trembling from head to foot, said: "It is not my fault. I was not at Adowah, as you know." To which Sebagadis replied: "I know very well that it is not your fault, in this particular case; but it is you who have introduced this parcel of rabble into the Church: you are responsible for it. Send immediately to Adowah, and have these unworthy priests put in prison, till I come myself to punish

them." They fear that he will have their legs or tongues cut off: but, if it is in my power, I will oppose it.

Jan. 11, 1831—Ever since my arrival at Adowah, my next-door neighbour, the young prince Tecla Georgis, has been in the habit of coming almost every day to see me; but always accompanied by two or three priests, and some dozen other persons; so that up to the present time he has constantly avoided all kind of religious conversation. He makes, it is true, continually some remarks which may draw out the priests to speak with me; but he himself keeps silence. On hearing of my being engaged in discussion with any priest, he would promptly come to hear the conversation; but without saying any thing, either for or against. What he had heard of Kugler's last words, and of the manner in which I have received this dispensation of Providence, has given him more confidence in me, so that he has less fear of being misled than before: he has therefore made a connecting passage to the roof of my house, so that he can come alone by it.

This morning, he came, for the first time, by this new way; but he straight encountered, in my room, his father-confessor. He nevertheless put several questions, on the anointing of Jesus Christ, on saving faith, the justification of a sinner, the invocation of saints, &c. Speaking on the invocation of saints, he said to me: "Your belief on this point pleases me better than ours. You only

invoke God; and thus you are sure of being heard. As for us, we invoke the saints, we worship both them and their images, without being quite sure whether they will do us good or harm." His father-confessor stopped him, with, "We worship neither the saints nor their images." *Tecla Georgis*: "Pardon me! we do worship them." *The Priest*: "I do not worship them." *Tecla Georgis*: "Why, then, have you taught me to worship them?" *The Priest* (in confusion): "I will no longer do so: the saints are men, like us. I worship only God and the Virgin Mary." *Tecla Georgis*: "If you do not worship the saints, why do you worship the Virgin Mary? Is she not also a creature, like other human beings?" The priest was not able to answer. *Tecla Georgis* added, "We do not know where we ought to stop; therefore the faith of the English is preferable to ours."

Feb. 1—All the people being at the war, I only see some priests, with whom it is always more difficult to have edifying conversation than with other people. They always endeavour to lead the conversation to ceremonies, or some points of history, which do not touch the heart. The young *Tecla Georgis*, who comes every day to my house, often appears disposed to yield his heart to the truth; but the great number of priests who come to see him turn him from the faith.

Feb. 9—Yesterday evening, the woman of the house in which I live went out, about nine o'clock; and on returning, a little while after, she said that

she had been stung, on the tip of one of her fingers, by a scorpion. There was nothing to be seen, and she complained less than other persons in similar cases. During the night she was very quiet, till toward the morning; at least we heard nothing. About an hour before day, she began to make a noise like a dog growling, so that I had no idea but that it was a dog. At day-break, on perceiving our mistake, we wished to put some questions to her; but she gave no answer. I at first thought that she had been bitten by a serpent, instead of a scorpion. I called some people, who, on seeing her saliva, immediately said it was not a serpent that had bitten her; but that she had been stung by an insect larger than a scorpion, and full of prickles, which the Abyssinians call *damotera* (in Tigré, *aco*), entirely black. It is found in old walls, and in the driest parts of mountains. When it has bitten any one, they say that there is only one remedy; but it is a sure one only when applied instantly: it is, to kill a young black she-goat, to take its small intestines, and to force them down into the stomach of the patient, from which they are drawn out again charged with poisoned matter. On repeating this several times, the patient recovers in two or three days. When a serpent has bitten a man, the principal remedy in this country is not to let him fall asleep. Lately, I was very near being bitten by an extremely venomous serpent: it was following me, and its open mouth was not more than

two inches from my naked foot, when my servant struck it with a heavy stick which he had in his hand.—I have not yet seen more than three venomous serpents, alive, since I left Europe, and those three in the neighbourhood of Adowah.

The woman who was stung yesterday evening, died this morning at nine o'clock; and at two o'clock in the afternoon she was buried. The priests have taken all the little that she had, for pronouncing absolution: and because she had not confessed before her death, they have imposed on all her relations a fast of forty days. All the rest of the day my house was surrounded by men and women, who wept aloud; and many of whom had rubbed their faces with a coarse woollen cloth, till the skin was peeled off the forehead and both cheeks. The sores which they make, in such cases, are often not healed for thirty or forty days. When the Abyssinians are in mourning, men and women commonly shave the head: the great people content themselves with cutting their hair.

Feb. 15, 1831—Some runaway soldiers have arrived this evening, who announced that the Gallas, under Mariam, passed the Tacazze on the 13th; and that yesterday the Tigré people were beaten. I wait for more detailed intelligence.

CHAPTER IV.

FLIGHT FROM ADOWAH, IN COMPANY WITH WALDA MICHAEL—ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE AND DEATH OF SEBAGADIS—MR. GOBAT SENT BY WALDA MICHAEL, FOR PROTECTION, TO THE MONASTERY OF DEBRA DAMOT—AFTER THREE MONTHS' SECLUSION, ARRIVAL AT ADIGRATE—DESCRIPTION OF THE LOCUSTS—READING OF THE SCRIPTURES WITH HIS SERVANT GUEBROU—CONSEQUENCES OF THE BATTLE OF FEBRUARY 14TH—NATIVE DIRGE ON SEBAGADIS—A YOUNGER SON OF SEBAGADIS REVOLTS—THE ELDEST, WALDA MICHAEL, MAINTAINS HIS POWER—OUBEA COMES TO ATTACK WALDA MICHAEL—MR. GOBAT TAKES REFUGE AGAIN IN DEBRA DAMOT—RETURNS TO ADIGRATE—HE AGAIN TAKES REFUGE IN DEBRA DAMOT—REMARKS ON THE GALLA COUNTRY—RECOVERY FROM SEVERE ILLNESS—CRUEL PROCEEDINGS OF OUBEA—BATTLE BETWEEN OUBEA AND THE SONS OF SEBAGADIS—THEY SUBMIT TO OUBEA, WHO GIVES THEM ABOUT HALF OF THEIR FATHER'S GOVERNMENT—DEPARTURE FOR MASSOWAH—WAITS UPON OUBEA AND WALDA MICHAEL, BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE—ARRIVES SUCCESSIVELY AT MASSOWAH, JIDDA, SUEZ, AND CAIRO.

BEHATE.—When I rose on the morning of the 16th of February, 1831, I learned that all the people had taken flight, in consequence of news of the previous evening: there remained only some old women, who were weeping with a loud voice on the roofs of the houses. Shortly after, a great number of soldiers were seen coming in confusion, with the people of the neighbouring villages, who had taken to flight. Almost all had tears in their eyes. Till then I had been undecided as to what

I should do: sometimes I thought of remaining and protecting my house by force; sometimes of remaining quiet at home, and letting the Gallas seize what they pleased; and sometimes of taking flight with what property I could carry off. But I constantly hoped that God would guide me to the best decision, at the moment of necessity. When I saw every body alarmed, I retired to pray to God to give me counsel. After this, I was informed that one of the sons and the brother of Sebagadis had just passed by the side of the town, without entering it. I immediately ran after them, to know the state of affairs. They told me, that they had been stationed to guard a distant pass, and that they were not at the battle of the 14th; that, consequently, they did not know where Sebagadis was;—that they supposed he had taken another road; and that they believed the Gallas would soon come up. They advised me to lose no time; but to hasten to take what property I could, and to go and sleep with them on a neighbouring mountain. When I returned to the house, I there found our Ali, from Egypt; who, on his own suggesting it, had been sent by Walda Michael, eldest son of Sebagadis, to take me with him. My brother Aichinger had been occupied ever since the morning in putting all our property in order. We transported the medicines and books to a neighbouring church, Madhan Alam; and with the rest of our property we set off, a little before

sun-set, and walked till about nine o'clock in the evening. The country people stole the property of some of our company; but I lost nothing on this occasion. As the night was very dark, and we dared not make a fire on account of the banditti of the country, we slept on the grass, without any other covering than our light day-clothes.

On the 17th I came up with Walda Michael, who was acquainted with me only by name; but he knew that his father had a particular attachment both for Aichinger and me. We marched till three o'clock in the afternoon, when we stopped in a plain, in the district of Anticho, where there was much grass for our mules. We had intended to set off again a little before sun-set, and continue our march during part of the night: but at four o'clock a man arrived, who had been made prisoner, and had escaped. Immediately Walda Michael caused it to be proclaimed in the camp, that all were to prepare for retracing their steps; because he had just learned that Mariam fell in the battle of the 14th. Shortly after, the brother of Sebagadis arrived, whom I had seen at Adowah. We were in his district. Immediately the tears of many were changed for cries of joy: but this joy was not long to last. At sun-set, Walda Michael sent us some raisins, and a good piece of meat, which we ate partly raw; it being two days since we had had any thing to eat. During

the night we had much rain; but we had had time to prepare the hides, which served for a bed to cover us.

Rising on the morning of the 18th, I was exceedingly surprised to see the chiefs sad, and some soldiers continuing on the same route as yesterday evening. Soon after, Walda Michael sent for me privately; and told me that a messenger had arrived during the night, who had communicated intelligence; for which I must not appear sad, through fear of exciting suspicions;—it was, that his father was dead. Poor Sebagadis! he was taken prisoner on the 14th, and on the 15th was beheaded. Before putting him to death, the Gallas gave him permission to speak to one of his officers, a prisoner, who was to be sent back. He made his will; and ordered, among other things, that all his children should regard his son, Walda Michael, as their father, and be submissive and faithful to him. To Walda Michael he sent word to deal well with his English friends, as long as he should have it in his power. On entering the tent where he was to lose his life, he said to his enemies: “I have only fought in this war to defend the country, which you wished, without cause, to ruin, and of which I was the father. You may kill my body; but my soul is in the hands of God. Only strike: I do not fear!” Saying these words, he put his hand upon his eyes, to receive the fatal blow. When Walda Michael had announced to me the death of his father, he swore

that he would protect me as long as he had it in his power, provided that I promised to be a faithful friend to him. After having entered into this agreement, he ordered his uncle to conduct me to the monastery of Debra Damot, and to secure the reception of my property there. We then each took our way.

On the 19th, at noon, we arrived at Debra Damot, with the servants of Sebagadis's brother, who told the convent that they had orders to secure the reception of my property; whence the priests concluded that they cannot be given up but by order of the brother of Sebagadis, into whose house they received them. After a discussion, which lasted till night, I succeeded in getting them to promise, that at least they would not give up my property to any body, except in my presence. I was not contented with this arrangement: but I did not know any other place of security for my goods.

On Sunday, the 20th, as I was desiring to descend from the mountain—whence you can only descend by means of a rope—I saw Walda Michael, who came to take a young brother that was in the monastery. He immediately had his uncle's servants bound for some hours, because they had not properly executed their commission: he then strongly reprov'd the monks for having acted with so much coldness toward a stranger, whom he had sent. He next ordered them to receive my property, on the conditions that I desired; viz.

that they should return it to me whenever I wished, without an order from any other person. This done, he advised me to take away my things from his uncle's house, and to remove them to the convent. We remained together, under the mountain, till four o'clock in the evening, when he left for Adigrate. Upon the whole, the monks are not all of them so ill-disposed as the Superior. I passed the evening with several of them; and some were disposed to listen to the Word of God.

Feb. 21, 1831—Yesterday evening, we advanced about three hours on the road; and to-day we arrived at Behâte, where I purpose to remain, at the house of our Egyptian Ali, till the storm shall have passed away.

Feb. 26—During these three last days I have been writing letters to Messrs. Bickersteth, Blumhardt, and others.

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May 22. Adigrate.—I have just passed three very disagreeable months, in the midst of the savage Shohos; but the Lord has preserved me from all evil. As Sebagadis had subdued, for the first time, this country by force, it was only by compulsion that they had recognised his authority, up to the present moment. As soon as they learned the news of his death, they became the enemies of his children. Thus the few friends that Ali had, became his enemies; and consequently my enemies, because I was in his house. All refused to pay him the tribute, which he ought

to have received some months before. All the quarrels which took place under Sebagadis, and which were not terminated in a manner conformable to their customs, have been renewed in all the neighbouring villages. On market-days, there were nearly always quarrels. Three or four hundred armed men have fought three times: but, savages as they are, they fight with caution, lest they should kill any one; because the relations of the person slain would not fail to kill the murderer, or one of his relations, even in generations to come: hence, there were always but a small number wounded. The people of several villages have thrice come very near to Behâte, to fight, and to plunder the village.

Besides all these quarrels, when the Abyssinians have no government to fear, they almost always are robbers. Many have often plotted together, and resolved to plunder my house; but there always arose some obstacle to it. I had a servant from the neighbourhood, who has a large family-connexion, the individuals of which always oppose every attempt to do me harm. Once, when the banditti of different villages had plotted together, and had even fixed the night on which they were to come and to take my four mules and all the property that they should find in the house, on that very evening a soldier of good family, and respected for his bravery, returned from the neighbourhood of the Tacazze, where he had been wounded and mutilated by the Gallas. The thieves,

before coming to my house, went to welcome him, and to communicate to him their design, hoping that he would be useful to them, in case of resistance; but he said to them: "Formerly I might, perhaps, have been of your mind; but to-day I have just escaped from the hands of death, and it seems to me, that it is for the purpose of delivering unoffending strangers from your hands that God has delivered me from death. I do not consent; and I declare to you, that he who shall do any harm to this stranger shall be my enemy till death." Thus their design came to nothing. But this same man, Ardou, was summoned to go with Walda Michael to the war; and I hear, from all quarters, that many are only waiting his departure, to come and plunder my house. I know not what to do. I would willingly have gone to Adowah: but, besides that the road is filled with banditti, Azaï Guigar, who lays claim to the government of Tigré, puts in irons and plunders all the friends of Sebagadis. He has put Emmaha in chains for three days, because his wife had fled at the same time with me, and because he guards my house. He demanded of him two hundred dollars of my money. At last, a respectable relative got him set at liberty. While I was undecided, Walda Michael told me to come to Adigrate, assuring me that I should be safer there than elsewhere. I received this advice as coming from the Lord; and yesterday I arrived at Adigrate: to which place I should have come sooner, if the

sons of Sebagadis had not been in a state of discord. Now, the mildness of Walda Michael has reconciled them all: they have, at last, all acknowledged him as their superior.

While at Behâte, I was almost always indisposed: but, as I had no visits, except only from one old priest, who is not an enemy to the Truth, I had leisure to make two copies of my Journal. Since the middle of April, I have not suffered, except in my eyes; which are not yet quite restored. All the people being at the war, I shall be again obliged to pass some time alone at Adigrate.

June 9, 1831—It is some days since the locusts began to appear here; but it was not till to-day that they came up as a formidable army. They were discernible, at first, by a noise like that of many swarms of bees. On our listening attentively, it became like the sound of heavy hail at some distance: I then went out, to see what it was. The light of the sun was already much darkened by the locusts, which filled the air; but this was only the advanced guard. On looking toward the north, I saw, as it were, several faint clouds rising from the earth, at about a league distance; which I at once took for locusts, having already seen thus much of them near Cana in Galilee. Afterward, this mist became so thick, that we could see neither the sky nor the neighbouring mountains; so that the people of the country, though accustomed to the sight of locusts, no longer believed that it could be locusts: but they soon arrived, to con-

vince us of the contrary. As they drew near, they made a noise fully equal to that of the sea after a storm. Every body then fell to weeping. The air was so darkened, that we could hardly see where the sun was; and the earth was so covered, that we could absolutely see nothing but locusts. Children, running about in the fields, at a stone's-throw off, were scarcely noticeable, from the multitude of locusts hovering round about them. In Tigré there is every year, more or less, a descent of locusts; but this year they are more numerous here than usual. In the environs of Debra Damot, and at Anticho, nearly as far as Adowah, they have already ruined the fields of several villages; and joined to this, there has been a total want of rain for more than three weeks past; so that there will probably be a famine next year. The Mussulmans of Tigré collect locusts in casks, and eat them with relish. In time of famine, there are Christians also who eat them; but they are then looked upon as Mussulmans; and when they confess, the priests impose on them a terrible penance. I have even heard that they are not regarded as Christians till after they have been re-baptized; but I have not yet been able to ascertain whether that is true. You cannot more insult the Tigré people than by calling them Locust-eaters. Beyond the Tacazze they very rarely appear, and there the Mussulmans do not eat them.

I have almost every day visits from two Alacas,

and two other priests, all well-informed; with whom I always have religious conversations, in Amharic: but there is not one of them who seriously seeks the Truth. I have more pleasure in passing a few hours with the family of Bida Mariam, who was king for three days, at Gondar, some years ago. He, his wife, and his children, are not enemies to the Gospel; but their absolute dependence, and their present misery, give them an undecided character.

My eyes are getting worse. I cannot see with sufficient clearness to read and write, except from nine o'clock in the morning till three in the afternoon. In the morning, on opening my eyes to the light, I suffer much; but the pain, by little and little, decreases toward eight o'clock. In the evening I have no suffering; but I hardly recognise the persons in the house.

* * * * *

Sept. 5, 1831—Thank God! I have passed the rainy season in very good health, except that my eyes are always pretty nearly the same. I have, however, during these last few days, been enabled to read the account of the events at Paris, in 1830. As for any thing else, I can only read one or two chapters in the Bible daily. The time appears to me very long, because I see scarcely any one. There is an old monk from Dembea, very well informed, who gives me some hopes. He comes almost every day to see me, and defends his principles with all his might: but for

some time past, I have perceived that he is uncertain even of what he affirms, and that he is more disposed than at first to hear of the Christianity of the heart. The two or three other priests who come to see me are only occupied with subtilties, which they endeavour to resolve by sophisms.

My sojourn at Adigrate is made agreeable, by the daily conversations that I have with my servant Guebrou. It is surprising with what success he has studied the New Testament. I cannot begin any passage to him, whether in the Gospels or the Epistles, but he is able to continue and finish nearly word for word; and, with very few exceptions, he always gets hold of the right meaning. He also knows, in great part, the history of the Old Testament, the account of which he has heard from my mouth. But what more rejoices me, is to see that the Truth has taken deep root in his heart. It was not till my stay here that he described to me the anguish of soul he experienced at Adowah on reading the Epistles of St. Paul and St. Peter, and the pure joy which followed upon it. He now often complains of deadness of heart, and of an apathy which leaves him neither true joy nor sorrow; however, he seizes every moment to read the New Testament, and to write. He especially desires to possess the Psalms of David in Amharic, that he may learn to pray. His vivacious temperament is not one the most favourable to true Christianity; but, apart from the weaknesses of human nature, his conduct is

exemplary in every respect. What confirms my persuasion that he has listened to the Father, and that he is under the influence of the Holy Spirit, is, the enmity that the world has against him; with the exception of some good men, who wish to take him to their house to instruct their children. As people cannot lay any heavy fault to his charge, the priests are contented to call him Mussulman; because he does not kiss the churches, and refuses to have a father confessor. Others call him, in derision, *Tsadic*; *i. e.* "just;" "saint." If the Lord continue to work as He has begun in him, I hope one day to make a good schoolmaster of him.

I have reserved for this place the description of the results of the battle of the 14th of February. What I have learned for certain, is as follows:— After the Gallas had killed Sebagadis, they came together to Axum, under the command of Dori, brother of Mariam, pillaging and destroying all the villages. On his arrival at Axum, Dori fell ill; and knowing that they would soon spread a report of his death in the interior, for parties to be formed, he saw himself obliged to return into the Amhara country. By the advice of Oubea, Dori put in irons his two principal officers, Dejaj Ahmada, governor of the Gooderou Gallas, and the young Dejaj Comfou, whom I saw at Gondar. They all returned together, except Oubea. Dori also put in irons my Gondar friends, Cantiba Cassai, and Negadras Achaber: but his malady became worse and worse, till toward the end of

the month of May, when he died. Those who were in irons were consequently set at liberty: and all the chiefs owned submission to Ali Mariam, nephew of Ras Googsa, without further trouble. Thus Ali Mariam has taken the title of Ras, in the room of his cousin Mariam; and he has set upon the throne a new king, called Joas.

When the Gallas had left Axum, which they did not plunder, Oubea, to whom they had given the title of Governor of Tigré, came and encamped near Adowah, where all the people of the neighbourhood went to acknowledge him as their chief. He has established as provisional Governor of Tigré one Azaï Guigar, related to, but an enemy of Sebagadis; and then he suddenly left for Samen, not trusting himself to the Gallas. While waiting, parties were formed on all sides in Tigré. The greater number would submit neither to Oubea, nor to the children of Sebagadis. These last quarrelled together, on the subject of the inheritance that their father left them; so that their soldiers, losing all expectation of seeing them in the character of governors, went every one to his own home. When I arrived here on the 20th of May, Walda Michael had only thirty or forty soldiers, and he was on the point of leaving on the 23rd: first, to go and subdue one of his brothers, who had refused till then to be reconciled to him; and then to endeavour to obtain the government of Tigré. Before these brothers were reconciled,

they received intelligence that Oubea was near Antalo, which united them immediately.

This news was soon spread everywhere: every evening the women of the villages assembled together, to cry, with the highest pitch of their voices: "To arms! to arms! Oubea is coming to destroy us!" The soldiers immediately collected again around Walda Michael; so that in two days he had an army of about five hundred men, with which it was his determination to wait for Oubea. Oubea's object in coming, was to seize a person named Sol Angueda, who pretended to the government of Tigré and Samen, where he had many partisans. Oubea had about five hundred horsemen, but no other troops. After having bound Sol Angueda, he suddenly retired into his own country.

After the departure of Oubea, it was the intention of Walda Michael to go and reduce to submission Adowah and its environs; but when he was near Adowah, he found himself surrounded by several chiefs, all of them his enemies, but also at enmity among themselves. When Walda Michael saw himself thus surrounded, he proposed a truce to the half of his enemies, who accepted it till the middle of September. Thinking himself still too feeble to attack the other half of his enemies, he returned to Adigrate about the middle of July; when suddenly Azai Guigar, with several other chiefs, fell upon him. At first, the

battle appeared lost to Walda Michael ; but remembering that, if he were beaten on that day, his cause, and that of his brothers, was for ever lost, he rushed forward, accompanied only by a young boy, into the midst of the enemy. His people, seeing him thus exposed, took fresh courage, and gained the victory over an army four times more numerous than their own. Azaï Guigar escaped ; but his four sons, and nearly all the other chiefs, were taken prisoners.

In the middle of the month of August, Walda Michael gained another victory over another party ; and took a fortress or mountain, to which his enemies had retired with their property. He has now still three parties to contend with, before he can consider himself as Governor of Tigré ; and this, without reckoning Oubea : but as his people found much booty after the last victory, soldiers came to him from all quarters ; even the soldiers of the opposite parties surrendered themselves. Besides which, the people of Adowah are alarmed ; because, after Walda Michael's first victory, which appeared so little probable, a report was spread that the English who were with him (*i. e.* myself) had given him a medicine which must make him victorious everywhere. They had already, on a former occasion, endeavoured to put in irons my servant, whom I had sent to Adowah, in order that they might by that means obtain a part of the treasures which they believed

I had left in my boxes of books, and in my medicine-chest.

Oct. 20, 1831—For some days, not an evening has passed without the women collecting together, to cry, "To arms!" Every body was in consternation: many took to flight. There are three bands of rebels some leagues hence, who threaten to come to plunder and destroy Adigrate and its environs, while Walda Michael is at Antalo. They have plundered and burned several villages in the mountains of Haramât, about four leagues hence; but they had not courage to come and shut themselves up in the mountains that are round about Adigrate. They have withdrawn, and now every thing is again tranquil. For my part, I am wearied with this solitude, though I have my Bible with me; but I do not as yet see the means of getting out of it: however, thank God! my health is very good: my eyes are nearly well; but I suffer continually in my teeth. Not having any visitors, and that I may not remain entirely without employment, I go twice every week, with my servants, into the neighbouring mountains, to dig tsado-roots, from which they make wine or mead: this I do, both for my own use, and also to procure friends; but my principal end, besides that of preserving my health, is to set an example of labouring, as well to my servants as to the people of the neighbourhood.

Nov. 3—It is said that Walda Michael has at

last succeeded in subduing Antalo and its environs, by gentle means. He has only destroyed one single village, where twenty of his soldiers had been killed. If, as he has declared, he should come here in about a fortnight, I will endeavour to persuade him to let me depart, and to give me an escort as far as Massowah: but I fear that he may refuse me this. It is said that Oubea intends passing the Tacazze one of these days: if that be true, there will yet be troubles in Tigré for a long time to come. There will probably be a famine in the country; for even now there is scarcely any wheat to be bought, and the time of the harvest is nearly passed. The locusts have devoured every thing in Tigré; and even, it is said, beyond the Tacazze.

Dec. 8—I have just passed three days with Kidam Mariam, chief of a caravan of Gondar. I saw, with joy, that he had not forgotten our conversations of last year, and that his eyes were opened on several important points; but he has not yet entered in *at the strait gate*. As soon as I saw him, he told me that he had got before the caravan, to come and converse with me on the Word of God. In fact, during the three days of his stay here, he has had, from morning till night, the Gospel, or the Acts of the Apostles, in his hands. On receiving a copy of both, he told me that he would read every evening some chapters with the Christians of his caravan. The first evening I heard the servants of Kidam Mariam

singing an air which touched me, even to tears : it is the only agreeable air that I have heard in Abyssinia. I asked him what his people were singing : to which he replied, with tears in his eyes, " It is a dirge over Sebagadis, which the people sing every evening, weeping, in all the the Amhara country." These are the words :—

እወይ : ሰባጋደስ : የሁሉ : ወደጅ :
 ደገ : ሸሀ : ቀረ : በውብሽት : እጂ :
 እወይ : ሰባጋደስ : የድኃ : ምሰሶ :
 ደገ : በሀ : ቀረ : ሸደም : ተለውሶ :
 የዚህ : አገር : ሰዎች : በጎ : ያፍራሉ :
 በደም : የበቀለ : እሸት : ደበላሉ :
 የሳደር : መከኤል : መን : ዘደክራላ :
 መሪኤ : ገደለው : ገምስት : ሸሀ : ገላ :
 ለጉማሽ : እንጂራ : ለብርሉ : ጸጅ :
 ደገ : ሸሀ : ቀረ : የክርስቲኦን : ወደጅ :

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

Alas ! Sebagadis, the friend of all,
 Has fallen at Daga Shaha, by the hand of Oubeshat !
 Alas ! Sebagadis, the pillar of the poor,
 Has fallen at Daga Shaha, weltering in his blood !
 The people of this country, will they find it a good thing
 To eat ears of corn which have grown in the blood ?
 Who will remember [St.] Michael of November
 [i. e. to give alms] ?
 Mariam, with five thousand Gallas, has killed him
 [him, i. e. who remembered to give alms] :
 For the half of a loaf, for a cup of wine,
 The friend of the Christians has fallen at Daga Shaha !

Kidam Mariam had with him a slave, or servant (for the Abyssinian Christians do not sell their slaves), of Sidama. I wished to put several questions to him about his country; but he was sold at so young an age, that he knows scarcely any thing for certain about it. He said that the Sidamas are Christians, and their country extensive and very good. He remembered having seen books; but he knew nothing of what they contained. The Sidamas rarely engage in war: but their king appears to be a tyrant; for when any one has committed a crime, whatever it may be, the king sells him to his neighbours, the Gallas, as a slave, often with the whole of his family. When the last king died, there was found in his house a treasure of money, four hundred mules' loads. The country is two months distant, by caravan, on the south-west of Gooderou. On this side of Sidama is a Galla province, called Enaréa. The King, or present Governor, has had an Abyssinian priest sent for, to pray for him and his people. He has given him the best house in the country; and, in general, he treats him as his equal: but neither the king nor the priest think of instructing the people.

When Kidam Mariam quitted Gondar, the country was tranquil; but since that, now forty days ago, it appears that there has been a revolution. Some say, that almost all the under-governors have quitted Ali Mariam, and that they are gone over to Aligas Faris, governor of Lasta,

who has stationed himself near Lalibala, with the intention of reducing all the Amhara country. Others say, that Aligas Faris is at Debra Tabor, the usual residence of Googsa and his children, three short days' journey from Gondar, between Belessa and Begameder; that the chiefs who had joined him have revolted; that they have called Oubea to their succour; and that Aligas Faris is now surrounded on all sides. Thus much is certain, that Oubea, who intended to come to Tigré, has left suddenly, to join Ali Mariam. Aligas Faris is the friend of Sebagadis's children.— I have learned since, that, toward the end of October, Aligas Faris was beaten, and with difficulty escaped. On his return, the people of Lasta would no longer acknowledge him, and he is now without authority.

Dec. 10, 1831—Yesterday evening, it was learned here that the chief of Tembene, Cassai, son of Sebagadis, had revolted against his brothers, himself wishing to govern. Lately, he went to plunder a district against the advice of his brothers, and had carried away about two thousand head of cattle, which he had distributed among his own soldiers, and those of his eldest brother, Walda Michael, with a view of corrupting them. At the same time he sent to his brother's enemies, inviting them to come and attack Walda Michael during the absence of his soldiers. He was on an understanding also with a chief whom his brothers had beaten some time ago, and who was to come

to-day to plunder Adigrate and its environs. The day before yesterday he had bound about a hundred soldiers of his brother, Walda Michael, who were going to rejoin their chief. Yesterday evening, all had resolved to fly in the morning; but this morning, at three o'clock, a messenger came, who brought the news that Cassai was taken yesterday, and bound, on a mountain or fortress. While all this was passing, Walda Michael, who had set off to meet his enemies near Antalo, told all his secret plans to his brother Cassai, and invited him to join with him as soon as possible. Since the death of Sebagadis, none of the friends of Walda Michael confide themselves to Cassai. About a fortnight ago, the report was spread that Cassai wished to put his brother in irons: a priest went to warn Walda Michael of it, and bade him stand on his guard; but Walda Michael replied: "I will not take any precaution against my brother: we have sworn together an immutable fidelity, in the presence of God. If I am perjured, all my precautions will avail me nothing; God will punish me for it, even without the interference of any man: but if my brother is perjured, God will certainly punish him for it."

Dec. 11—This morning, toward nine o'clock, lamentable cries were heard from all quarters. On going out of the house, to see what was the reason of it, I saw every one rubbing his face till the skin came off the forehead and both cheeks; and some tearing all the hair off their heads.

The women were running on all sides, beating their breasts; and nobody had spirit left to answer me, when I asked what was the matter. At last, I heard a cry, that Walda Michael was dead. I sent to his wife, to know the precise state of things: to which she replied, tearing her hair, that Walda Michael had been surprised by his Antalo enemies, and that he had been made prisoner. A moment after, half the inhabitants of Adigrate took flight, with what they could carry away of their goods. Persons in more easy circumstances had the most valuable part of their property removed to a neighbouring mountain. For my part, I set about getting my things ready, so as to leave this evening or to-morrow morning, in case we hear nothing more favourable before the evening: but being accustomed to hear lies every day, I at first doubted the truth of this morning's report: I was not, however, quite at my ease. Toward three o'clock in the afternoon, cries of joy were heard; a messenger had just arrived, who had been at the battle of the 8th of December. His tidings were, that, on the 8th, all the chiefs of the neighbourhood of Antalo fell, unawares, upon Walda Michael, who had with him only about two hundred soldiers, to whom he made a brief address, finishing in these terms: "To-day there is danger. Without a gun, or even a lance, sword in hand, spread terror in the midst of our enemies!"—so saying, he advanced the first toward the enemy; and in less than a

quarter of an hour the enemy's army, of about two thousand men, was put to the rout. Walda Michael made some of the chiefs prisoners; but the two most powerful escaped. It is believed that the morning's news was an intrigue of Cassai, chief of Tembene. They were about setting him at liberty, just at the moment when the news of his brother's victory arrived.

Dec. 15, 1831—To-day, a Damotera was brought me to look at. (See Feb. 9.) It is an insect resembling a spider, about two inches long, and entirely covered with hair of a deep brown colour. I had already seen several, without imagining that they could be hurtful.

Dec. 31—On reviewing the year which has just elapsed, I can find no other immediate result than this—*Perdidi annum**.

Jan. 2, 1832—Walda Michael has arrived at Adigrate; intending to leave again in a few days, for the purpose of reducing Adowah.

Feb. 3—I have been ill, with a very painful complaint in the stomach, ever since the arrival of Walda Michael. I am not yet quite restored; but, thank God! I am no longer suffering pain.

Feb. 26—Walda Michael has left for Adowah, with very few people. During his sojourn here,

* [*"I have lost a year."*—Our Missionary is here speaking of immediate and visible results. But no one knows better than he does, that the months during which the seed-corn lies buried in the earth are not time lost. *Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and latter rain: James v. 7.—ED.]*

he gave me four cows. Not to offend an Abyssinian prince, it is necessary to accept every thing that he is pleased to give.

March 16, 1832: Guegues.—I have once more been obliged to betake myself to flight. As soon as Oubea learned that Walda Michael was at Adowah, he passed the Tacazze with the few people that he had about him; and during the three or four days that he waited on the shore for the arrival of his people, all the chiefs of Endereta, Tembene, Tigré, and Sheré, went to join him. The sons of Sebagadis retired into the environs of Adigrate, to guard the passes by which it was possible that Oubea might enter into the district of Agamé. Oubea wished to get before them; and he was not more than a day's journey from Adigrate, when they blocked up his way. Oubea cannot have fewer than a thousand horse, as also a number of Gallas, with him. The sons of Sebagadis have but a small number; little more than the peasants of Agamé, and some Teltals. When they learned at Adigrate that the enemy's army was so near, all fled. I was disposed to remain, to see the event: but all the people, as they fled, cried out to me, that I was a madman; which so frightened the people of my house, that I at last found myself obliged to yield to their entreaties; and this morning I set out, to take refuge in the monastery of Debra Damot: but knowing the insatiable covetousness of the monks, I resolved, on the road, not to go near

them, till pressed by the last extremity: this is the reason of my staying here, in a small house, belonging to a married priest, waiting for further events. Guegues is about two leagues to the east of the monastery of Debra Damot. The district is called Damot.

March 17 — Ali's servant, being seated this evening at the door of my house, was bitten by a serpent. The passage in Amos v. 19. came into my mind. Ali applied burning coals to the place that was stung, as long as the man could endure it; but after the space of five minutes, the skin being already quite burnt away, he still felt no heat; and it was with the greatest difficulty that we could keep him from sleeping. Now, at ten o'clock, he no longer feels any bad consequences, excepting from the wound which the fire occasioned.

* * * * *

May 22: Adigrate.—Having learned that Kidam Mariam of Gondar was intending to pass this way one of these days, and that Oubea had retired as far as Tembene, I returned hither, where the air and the house are much better than at Guegues. At Guegues I had no religious conversations; except with the priest, my host, who was very anxious for knowledge, but destitute of life. The others who visited me chose never to understand my Tigré when I conversed on religious subjects.

May 28—I have been passing three days with the Gondar merchants; but Kidam Mariam has

been so busy with the custom-house officers, that I could get no connected conversation with him. I have made acquaintance with a traveller, a gentleman of Frankfort, who proposes returning with this caravan into the interior. His principal intention is, to collect all that he can find interesting in Natural History, chiefly in Zoology. My servant, Guebrou, has also left with the caravan. I have not been so well satisfied with him for the last few months as I was before. I have nothing particular to complain of, in his conduct; but seeing himself superior to others in knowledge, he appears to cherish a degree of pride, which makes me fear for him. Yet I regard him as a brother; and hope that the opposition which he will meet with will be of service to him.

June 9, 1832: Monastery of Debra Damot.—All was again tranquil. Oubea, after having plundered and burnt Atsbi, and generally the whole district from Tembene to the frontier of the Teltals, retired to the district of Tembene, with the intention, it was supposed, of returning to Samen, to pass the winter there. Hereupon, the Fit-Aurari, Guebra Amlac, brother of Sebagadis, deserted his brothers and nephews, to go and join a man named Golja, who governs a district between Anticho and Adowah; and who, since the death of Sebagadis, has done nothing but plunder his neighbours and travellers. Walda Michael immediately pursued his uncle with the half of his army, with the view of besieging the mountain

to which he had retired with Golja. The Fit-Aurari, when he deserted, called Oubea to his succour; promising to conduct him safely to Adigrate, provided only that he would restore to him the rank of Fit-Aurari, which Walda Michael had taken from him, when he deserted the first time, about a year ago. While Walda Michael was besieging the mountain, Oubea appeared; and Walda Michael, seeing himself too feeble to resist in the plain, retired among the mountains, to the west of Adigrate, with the design of occupying there all the narrow passes; but nearly half his soldiers deserted, through consternation. (There is no punishment for a common soldier who deserts, provided he does not carry a gun.) This morning, before day, a messenger arrived, who announced that Oubea was at Besate, near Debra Damot. At day-break, all fled to the mountains in the neighbourhood of the Teltals, a race of perfect savages, whither they had previously removed their wheat, &c. As there is nothing to be purchased there, I could not go with the others; but about nine o'clock I set off for Debra Damot, where I safely arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon. Immediately on my arrival, I went to see the camp of Oubea, who is less than a league from the monastery. I should judge that Oubea has three or four thousand men; but it is said that these numbers consist of nearly as many women as men.

June 12—For some days past, Oubea has been

plundering all the villages of the neighbourhood. There were some partial conflicts between his soldiers and the peasants; but only three or four persons were killed, and some wounded. Every day, Oubea, or rather the Fit-Aurari, Guebra Amlac, has been burning some houses, but only the best in each village. It was said, some days ago, that the young Ras, Ali Mariam, was dead; but in Abyssinia it is impossible to ascertain the truth. Be it as it may, notwithstanding the entreaties of the Tigré people who are with him, Oubea would not go to Adigrate. He set out this morning, on his departure back; but it is not yet known whether his intention is to pass the rainy season at Adowah, or to re-pass the Tacazze. This evening several fires were seen at a distance. Oubea is probably destroying a district which has remained faithful to the children of Sebagadis, between Besate and Antitcho. It is said, that when Oubea, who had very much given himself to fasting and prayer, was beaten by Mariam two years ago, he said, that since God gave the victory to the wicked, he also would be wicked, that he might prosper. Since then, he has always acted up to this resolution.

June 16, 1832—During the whole of my stay at Debra Damot, I every day see some monks; but they are occupied with no other subject but the war. Scarcely will they listen two or three minutes, when I speak to them of the one thing needful. I except Debtera Neblou, my host, a fine old

man, whose heart is not, as far as I can judge, insensible to the love of God. Yesterday evening I had a little assembly of monks, and five or six others. I conversed with them particularly on *faith which worketh by love*, as opposed to the legal and servile fear which governs them all their lives. They were very attentive, till near ten o'clock, without making any remark, or putting any important question.

June 21—I visited the church dedicated to the Abuna Aragawi (from the word *Araga*, “to ascend”) who is there represented holding the tail of a serpent, which is ascending a rock. On the side is the story of his ascension on the rock of Debra Damot. The story, as far as I could comprehend it, is this:—Aragawi was one of the nine Apostles sent into Abyssinia by St. Athanasius. After having passed some years in instructing the people, he desired to withdraw into some solitude; but his numerous miracles drew so many people after him, that he could never be alone. One day, passing near the rock of Debra Damot, he conceived the desire of ascending it, that he might pass his life there alone with God; and at the same instant there came a serpent, eighty cubits long, who began gliding up the rock: when Aragawi saw that his head had reached the summit of the rock, he seized him by the tail, and the serpent drew him up to the top. After having passed some time there, and experienced the sanctity of the place, he formed the project of establishing a

convent, in order that his brethren might share his happiness. In consequence, he spun a cord, by means of which some monks ascended up to him; and since then there have always been two or three hundred monks, no woman ever having set her foot there.

Afterward, I went to see the tombs cut in the rock, which surpass all that I could have expected in Abyssinia, although they are very inferior to those of Jerusalem. The monks dig them during their life-time. In one of these grottos, I found a monk who never goes out, which gives him a reputation for sanctity throughout the whole neighbourhood. I found him, however, full of self-righteousness, and ignorant of the righteousness of Christ. He could talk to me of nothing but himself, telling how every thing he wants is brought to him in his cavern, without his ever wanting to go out to seek support. To convince him of sin, I began by telling him that his life is in direct opposition to the Gospel;—for, either he has no light, and in this case he is a hypocrite to pass himself off for a child of light; or he has light, and then he sins against the precept of Jesus Christ, who wills his disciples to *let their light shine before men*, &c. He listened to the whole without making any answer, astonished that I could doubt his sanctity: at last, he asked me for a copy of the Gospel. By the side of his grotto there is a cave, in which all the monks affirm that the Abuna Aragawi is still

living, and that he makes himself visible from time to time to the more holy among them. I wished to enter it; but the monks, who said that it was impossible to come out of it alive, would not have any one enter with a candle; and for my own part, fearing that there might be some precipice in it, I would not enter it without a light.

June 25, 1832: Adigrate—Notwithstanding that the air of Debra Damot does not agree with me, I should have wished to continue some time longer there; because for some days past I had several opportunities of preaching the Gospel to the monks, who appeared to be attached to me: but not finding wheat to be sold in the vicinity, I was obliged to return to Adigrate, where I arrived yesterday, at the same time as Walda Michael; who has already left again this morning, without giving me a direct answer to the request that I made to him, to let me leave for Egypt.

July 9—It is not yet known whether Oubea has repassed the Tacazze; but in this uncertainty Walda Michael left for Antalo, where his enemies have roused up since the arrival of Oubea. I again asked him to let me go; but he told me still to wait a little, under the pretext that he could do nothing at present to facilitate my journey: he promised, however, to let me go at the end of the month of August, assuring me that then there would be no obstacle.

July 30 — Yesterday morning, women were

heard on all sides, crying, "To arms! To arms!" I had gone into the bush to pray; and, on returning, they told me that the Fit-Aurari, Guebra Amlac, and Golja, were not more than three leagues off, coming to pillage Adigrate and all the district of Agamé. Nearly all the inhabitants of Adigrate took flight, with their cattle; but, not knowing where to go, I reasoned with myself, that having been for a long time on friendly terms with the Fit-Aurari, he might possibly leave me in quiet. They plundered several villages between Damot and Agamé: but yesterday evening, the peasants belonging to the plundered villages, having united themselves, beat the people of the Fit-Aurari and Golja, took what they had been robbed of, and seized besides a quantity of arms in the possession of two banditti. To-day, it is said that they have gone home, with the intention of returning soon, with a greater number of men.

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Sept. 12, 1832—I have received tidings of the death of our Ali of Egypt. He has been ailing for more than a year, in consequence of poison which his wife gave him through jealousy. Fifteen days ago he left my house, very much recovered, to go and reconcile two tribes of Shohos, below Halai. There he found an old Mussulman, who offered him a Mussulman medicine; telling him, that it was decisive—that it never failed to cure or kill. Ali, agreeably to the great principle of Islamism, told him that he determined on taking

it; convinced, that if an unchangeable decree had not decided his death, this medicine must cure him. He took it, and the next day died.

Sept. 22: Debra Damot.—Having learned that Oubea, who has passed the rainy season in Tigré, was to march one of these days from Adowah against the district of Agamé with a numerous army, I have again once more taken refuge in this monastery, where the monks always express a friendly feeling toward me. I am told that Oubea always makes particular inquiries concerning me; and that he is resolved, if he finds me at Adigrate or elsewhere, to repair the injury that he did me, in a moment of impatience, at the time of my return from Gondar. This was, his refusing to receive a servant that I sent to him. The sons of Sebagadis are alarmed; but one battle which they have lately gained, and which has placed several chiefs of Tembene in their power, has a little encouraged them.

Oct. 3—I have just passed eight days at Adigrate with Walda Michael; who is very much dejected, because he has so few people, and because the peasants of Agamé are so alarmed. His intimate friend, Belata Darasso, who received me so well at Toursogua, near the Tacazze, on my return from Gondar, gave me several opportunities of preaching the Gospel to the soldiers. They set out yesterday, to go and meet Oubea, who is not more than two short days' journey from Adigrate.

Oct. 6, 1832—The day before yesterday, Cassai, the son of Sebagadis, had a partial combat with Oubea's people. He killed about ten of them, and took some horses. This so encouraged the people of Agamé, that it is said there does not remain a single peasant who has not gone to join Walda Michael, to defend their harvest, which is begun. Even the priests are gone to the war. One of these days, doubtless, the question about the government of Tigré will be decided.

Oct. 8—A young Galla, who comes twice a day to see me, interests me much by his desire to know the Truth. To-day, he gave me a brief history of his life.—Made a prisoner and a slave at the age of fourteen years (he is not yet thirty), he was sold to a master at Gojam, who, after having caused him to be baptized, soon set him at liberty. Being free, he might have returned to his country, which is not far from Gojam; but he was unwilling to be a Christian, without knowing the truths of Christianity. Without assistance, and, so to speak, without a master, he has attained to a tolerable understanding of the Ethiopic. He himself is now in the habit of preparing his parchment, for the purpose of learning to write; and, although he has never had a master, his writing is very legible. Up to this time he had no idea of the difference existing between the Gospel and human writings; but now he studies the Epistles with the greatest assiduity. Three years ago he went to see his relatives, and

to engage his father to come into the Amhara country, there to embrace Christianity. His father replied, that he had no kind of objection to embracing Christianity; but that having always been free, he could not bear to be regarded as a slave in the Amhara country. "But go," added he, "and bring hither a Christian priest, to teach and baptize us: we will all submit to his instruction." He returned to Amhara; but he could not find an intelligent priest willing to accompany him into his country. He resolved, in consequence, to be himself consecrated for the ministry: he became a monk at Gondar, and came to Tigré, where the Abuna was, to receive the imposition of hands: but, on his arrival, the Abuna had just died; and he remained in Tigré for more than two years, waiting the arrival of a new Abuna, to lay his hands on him. It is rather dangerous to go among the Gallas, on account of their murderous habits. A Galla, for example, who has not killed any one, is despised by all his acquaintances; and his wife still more so. When the wife goes to get wood or to draw water, the wife of a man who has killed any one waits for her by the side of her house, and takes her load from her by force, without her daring either to defend herself or even to cry for help: on the contrary, she endeavours to revenge herself on her husband; and he can have no peace in his house, till he brings sure evidence that he has killed a man. The country of the Gallas is a vast field, which

demands the attention of Christians; and would present, perhaps, fewer obstacles to the messengers of Christ than those nations which have more complete systems of idolatry or of Anti-Christian Superstitions: but I do not see how it can be entered upon, without the aid of one or two Missionary Stations in Christian Abyssinia.

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Nov. 6, 1832—It has again pleased the Lord to visit me with a very severe sickness, from which, through His mercy, I am very nearly recovered; although for several days I had no other food than dry bread, because there was absolutely nothing to be bought at Debra Damot, but a little barley, and even that with much difficulty; and, in the present state of things, the roads are so deserted, on account of thieves, that even beggars dare not pass, for fear they should be robbed of their rags.

When I returned from Adigrate, a month ago, Oubea was in the district of Haramata, which he has entirely destroyed. In one night alone, his soldiers killed nearly three hundred women and children; but it is said that he expressed his disapprobation of it. While Oubea was at Haramata, the news came that Aligas Faris had gone to the Amhara country, and that he had imprisoned the governor of Gooderou, Ahmadé. On this news, Oubea sent back the Tigré people who were with him, and made as if he would leave for Samen. He passed by Antalo; and the report spread, that he had repassed the Tacazze. In conse-

quence, the sons of Sebagadis left for Adowah; but while they were destroying and burning the district of Golja, they received intelligence that Oubea had entered into the district of Agamé. They retraced their steps; and when they arrived on the 1st inst., they found Oubea encamped near the village of Adigrate. On the 2nd, they rested; and on Saturday, the 3rd, they gave him battle, and were defeated. Oubea lost about five hundred men; but he took a great number of prisoners. Meantime, I am shut up here, without being at all able to foresee the moment when I can leave for Egypt, and I have not more than about fifty dollars in my possession: but in the same state as I came into this world, so shall I go out of it. Till then, He who is the Saviour of all men will give me what is needful.

During my last illness, I had several opportunities of preaching the Gospel, as well to the monks, as to several pilgrims who have come to assist at the annual festival of the Abuna Aragawi, which took place fifteen days ago. The greater part of the monks have become my enemies; and call me "Mussulman," because I condemn the adoration of the Virgin Mary, and have no confidence in her intercession: but the better-informed, and consequently the more influential, always testify friendship for me: there are even some who condemn the worship of creatures, and begin to doubt if the invocation of the Virgin is lawful; but I know of none who sincerely seek the Saviour.

Nov. 14, 1832—My servant Guebrou, who has passed the rainy season with Oubea's army, in which he has two brothers, has arrived here. He is bent on accompanying me as far as Egypt, as a servant without wages; for the sole reason, he says, that he still feels himself too weak to resist, alone, the temptations of the world, and the opposition of the enemies of the Gospel. I had already heard that he bears witness to the truth, both in his conduct and by his words: but what has given me far greater joy, is to see that he is much more sensible of his weakness, and of the corruption of his heart, than formerly. About two months ago, I was told that my goods had been burned at Adowah, with a part of the church; but I thought that there might be something left. Guebrou has just informed me that there is nothing left entire but a chest of books, containing the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, in Amharic: the other books which are not entirely burned are all spoiled and useless. Since the month of February 1831, when I quitted Adowah, the roads have never been passable; and at Adowah the petty governors of the neighbourhood put all in irons whom they supposed to have a little money; so that, if I had gone there, I should not have been able to obtain my goods, and should have been obliged to give up all that I had left, to escape imprisonment and blows. Before the burning of my goods, I had taken a favourable opportunity to send for Golius's Dictionary.

Nov. 21—The day before yesterday, the children of Sebagadis surrendered to Oubea, to prevent his entirely destroying their districts, and to redeem the prisoners who were cruelly ill-treated by Oubea's soldiers. He received them well, and has given them about the half of their father's government. Oubea's officers wished to give all the government of Tigré to Walda Michael, because he had fought well; but Oubea has not yet made up his mind to consent to it.

Nov. 23—Guebrou's brother came to take him by force. The poor youth wept much; but his resistance was of no avail. All the monks took part with his brother, and he was obliged to leave. His sobs much affected me; but I can recommend him with confidence *to God, and to the Word of His Grace, which is able to build him up, and to give him at last an inheritance among them that are sanctified.*

Nov. 26—Walda Michael, seeing his hopes vanish, has at last consented to let me leave; and I am preparing to set out to-morrow, if God permit. I have very little information from the interior. The country has been quiet for a year past, and the people appear to be very well satisfied with the young Ras, Ali*. Subsequently to

* The Ras, Ali Mariam, seeing the horror that the people had of the name of Mariam, has only retained that of Ali, which is a Mussulman name; his mother, before her marriage, having been a Mussulman of Gooderou. Ali is grandson of Googsa; and not his nephew, as I thought.

my return from Gondar, the King, Guigar, was dethroned, and his place supplied by a King Joas, whom I do not at all know; but it is now a year since Guigar caused Joas to be accused, by false witnesses, of having invited Aligas Faris to go and take possession of the government of Ras Ali. In consequence, Joas was dethroned, and his place supplied by Guebra Christos; but it is again said, that the old King Guigar has caused him to be poisoned. I do not know the name of the new king.

Dec. 10, 1832: Massowah—When I quitted Debra Damot, on the 27th of November, all the most respectable monks accompanied me as far as the pass where they descend the mountain: some descended with me. On parting from them, I again gently exhorted them to give their hearts unreservedly to Jesus, and to look for every thing from His Grace. A learned man, Alaca Walda Selassé, of Shoa—who came every day to see me, with a number of dogmatical questions, but for whom I had no particular attachment, because he always opposed, in the driest manner, every thing I said—suddenly burst into tears, and said to me, in the presence of all the monks: “Now that you are leaving, I ask your pardon for all the trouble that I have caused you. I had heard speak of you at Gondar, and your doctrine had excited in me doubts on several points. My chief end in coming here, was to see you, and to hear the proofs that you had of your doctrine, in opposition to ours. I opposed you as much as I could,

even when already several times convinced of the truth of your words; but it was in order to have more proofs. Now that we are parting, perhaps for life, I ought to open my heart to you. It is you who have opened my eyes. I will treasure up your instructions in my heart, and I will publicly call myself your disciple. You are my father." On saying these words, he again burst into tears; and while he was leaning, weeping, against a rock, I left. I took up my night's lodging at Facada, three leagues to the east of Debra Damot, where I lodged at the house of one of my servants' relations. The district is called Goula Macada. The people of the district have given sixty bags of honey to Oubea, to prevent his plundering their property.

Dec. 28—I found Oubea with his army at Behâte; where I remained four days. Oubea received me very well, although he has several reasons for not liking the Whites. Immediately on my arrival, he expressed to me his regret that he had refused to receive my servant, on my return from Gondar; and then he asked me why I did not rather go to him: to which I replied, that, on coming from Adowah, I had promised Walda Michael not to go near his enemies; which did not displease him. It was the young prince Tecla-Georgis, my old Adowah friend, who introduced me. I believe he was more rejoiced to see me again than he would have been to see his own father. He had already told Oubea and his

officers all that he was able to understand of my religious principles: I had therefore, every day, several opportunities of preaching the Gospel, in Oubea's tent, and in those of his officers. I thought it my duty to avoid wounding their feelings; and I endeavoured to tell them what there was positive in religion, rather than contradict them where it was not absolutely necessary. But once, when Oubea's tent was full of people, a priest suddenly asked me why I was unwilling that Mary should be called "Mother of God:"—to which I simply replied, that Jesus Christ being truly God and truly man, I did not, in one sense, object to their calling Mary "Mother of God," if they did not thence draw the conclusion that they ought to invoke and worship her, as if a feeble creature could be placed by the side of the only God and Saviour of the world, in the work of our redemption; adding, that our reason, given us by God, feels that there is something self-contradictory in the title "Mother of God;" it is as if we said, that the Eternal, the Creator of the Universe, took His origin from a creature of a day. "It would be much better to call her simply 'Mother of Jesus,' as the Apostles called her; and to believe, as the Gospel says, that if we imitate Mary in her faith, her humility, her love, and her obedience, Jesus Christ will be as nearly united to us as to Mary." Oubea interrupted me, saying: "It must be confessed that we are much too presumptuous in calling Mary 'Mother of God,' without being author

rised to do so by the Gospel : I am also of opinion that it would be much better to call her 'Mother of Jesus.' " On coming to the article of Justification by faith, all the Abyssinians, without exception, content themselves with saying, in a very vague manner, that as works are of no avail without faith, so faith is of no avail without works. They believe that faith with baptism is sufficient for the justification of a man who was not a Christian before ; but that God requires from a sinner satisfaction for the sins which he has committed after baptism—satisfaction, that is, by fasting, alms, &c. There are some who believe in absolute predestination ; not only of the future lot of the righteous and of sinners, but also of all the actions which are committed in the world. All believe that the moment of every one's death is long since decreed, and that there is no means of escaping it.

Oubea does not wish it to be said of him that he ever formed the resolution of doing evil ; but he confesses that his soldiers do much evil against his will, which he proves by punishing them very severely. He has had several beaten in my presence, for having stolen wheat ; but, notwithstanding this, all the wheat of Behâte is stolen. The copies of the Gospel in Ethiopic and Amharic have all been distributed. I have given a commission to Oubea's secretary, Walda Tecla, whom I knew before, to distribute what remains of the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles to those who

desire them. Walda Tecla has given the copy of the Four Gospels, which I had given to him at Gondar, to Walda Selasse, governor of Walcaït; who, it is said, reads it day and night, and constantly inquires when they can have the rest of the New Testament in Amharic. I have not been able to have an interview with him. Oubea, before parting, ordered Walda Michael to give me a good recommendation to Guidea, master of the customs and chief of the district of Halaï, to pass me on safely to Massowah. Poor Walda Michael! he wept when I bade him adieu:—all he said was, to beg me not to forget him. Oubea, at parting, on the 3rd of December, sent me thirty dollars, to help me on my journey. Thus all the great people of Abyssinia, who know me, consider themselves as my friends.

Dec. 3, 1832—I quitted Behâte to come to Halaï by the same road that we had taken in going. All the villages were deserted; because the inhabitants had all taken flight, with their cattle, into the mountains of the Shohos, fearing lest Oubea's army should pass by this road. The first evening we slept at Tohonda (not Dohona, as we had understood in coming), where the three or four men that we found there prepared us a good supper, making apologies for not being able to receive us as they wished, as all their property is hidden in the mountains. The next day we arrived at Halaï.

At Halaï I found five or six chiefs of the

Shohos Hassaorta (Salt, *Hazaorta*); whom, on our coming, we had seen at Massowah, chained. They recognised me immediately; and said one to another: "This is he who gave us two dollars, on passing through Massowah." We had given them this, to procure necessary food. From Halai to Massowah, and *vice versa*, one cannot pass without a guide of this tribe of Shohos; to whom it is necessary to get recommended, when going, by the Naib of Massowah; and when returning, by the governor of Halai. The Hassaorta Shohos have a dozen petty chiefs, who share in turn the privilege of conducting travellers; but they arrange that, after having made the bargain. They commonly take ten dollars for conducting a White across their territory; but they consented at once to take me, as a man of the country, for a dollar and a half. They told me that Mr. Salt had given them a hundred and fifty dollars for conducting him from Massowah to Halai.

At Halai, I found an Armenian, who calls himself Bethlehem, and who came from India with a Portuguese servant; but he is so reserved, and so close, that I was not able to ascertain any thing about the intention of his journey. He told me that he was from Tiflis in Georgia. He speaks English and Arabic well. He has had many difficulties with the Shohos, although he had given ten dollars to his guide, and was with a caravan. They would not let him pass, unless he gave them money; until, after having been detained three

days, he sent to apprise the Naïb, who immediately came himself to procure a pass for him.

Dec. 6, 1832—I quitted Halaï with a heavy heart, on casting a last glance toward a country where I have just spent three years. On passing through Halaï three years ago, I said to myself, that if I might but contribute in any way to the salvation of a single sinner, I should rejoice at having come into this country: and now I feel as though, were there but one individual remaining in Abyssinia unacquainted with Jesus, I could rejoice to devote my life to the bringing of that one to the Good Shepherd. Walking along, I returned thanks to God for all the benefits bestowed on me in this country; but there rose, within me, a voice that could only cry, "Grace! grace!"

On the 9th, I arrived at Dohono (Arkeeko), at sun-rise.

My Hassaorta guide has conducted himself very well: I therefore made him a present of a she-ass, which is worth two or three dollars, and with which he was perfectly satisfied. The Naïb received me very well; probably much better than if we had given him the thousand dollars which he demanded on our first passing: but knowing that he was in the habit of taking mules from the Whites who return from Abyssinia, I made him a present of both mine. He would not have taken them by force; but, through fear that he might do so, nobody would have bought them. Immediately on my arrival, the Naïb told me, that in

two or three days a boat would leave for Jidda, with the Caïm-Macâm, the governor of Massowah.

Dec. 10—I arrived at Massowah, where I found Mr. Coffin, who handed me a very brotherly letter from Messrs. Jowett and Coates, of the month of June. Two years had elapsed since my receiving a letter from Europe. It was truly a balm for my fainting spirit!

On the night between the 12th and 13th I embarked at Massowah; and on the 2nd of January, 1833, I arrived at Jidda, where the good Mâllem Yousouf received me with his accustomed hospitality. The officers of the "Benares" corvette, which I found at Jidda, manifested as much kindness toward me as if I had been a near relative.

Feb. 6, 1833—Captain Wilson of Bombay had the goodness to take me as far as Suez, in his steam-boat; and on the 16th of the same month I arrived safely at Cairo.

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL REMARKS.

I HAVE endeavoured to describe, in my Journal, every thing that I observed while in Abyssinia, and whatever in that country was in connexion, directly or indirectly, with the object of the Church Missionary Society. Whatever I did not myself see, I have aimed at relating in the very expressions of those from whom I heard the account; in order to avoid mistakes, so easily introduced into the more systematic descriptions of travellers.

One fault, which will be found in my Journal, is repetition; but this is intentional, partly in order to show the gradual way in which I was made acquainted with the views of the people, and yet more especially to give an idea of the pain that a Missionary experiences, when obliged every day to take a part in useless reasoning; which, in my opinion, cannot always be avoided. I hope this will give the Society an idea of the character and temper which Missionaries, sent to Abyssinia, should possess; whose principal disposition should be, an active patience.

It only remains for me to offer a short survey

of the present condition of Abyssinia. First, with respect to

POLITICAL, CIVIL, AND MILITARY CIRCUMSTANCES.

These three heads are so intimately connected, that they cannot be separated; for all the governors are civil judges, and all the civil judges are military men. The independent governors are absolute in every respect: it is, therefore, difficult to say any thing of their politics. They are at liberty to give the government of a district to, or to take it from, their inferiors, according to their pleasure: they generally find, however, that it is their interest to support the hereditary system, in the government of various districts. They may either choose their counsellors themselves, or act according to their caprice. They have it in their power, generally, to declare war, without asking much advice; but when they approach the army of the enemy, they consult their officers concerning the manner of beginning the attack, or defending themselves. Sometimes they assemble all their counsellors, in order to hear what can be said for and against: at other times they ask the advice of each separately, in order to reserve to themselves a free decision. This last is the ordinary manner of acting, followed by Oubea; because he has doubtless observed, that the enmity of the Abyssinians is much more active than their friendship; and because, frequently, an officer appears to think that his duty lies in opposing the advice of

his rival, rather than in looking to the interest of his superior. The rebellious officers are arbitrarily punished, when taken. Oubea used to cut off one arm and one leg: Sebagadis killed some, and put others in irons: while Googsa offered to them a daughter in marriage, with the government under his dependence; to which they agreed. The Abyssinian governors have never, up to this time, thought of introducing the least amelioration into their country; with the exception of Sebagadis, who did not know how to begin it. Their chief object is to aggrandise themselves, without thinking what will become of their children after them. When they see themselves near their end, they generally endeavour to transmit their authority to one of their children, the son of their favourite wife; but he, being in general younger, and having less experience than his brothers, scarcely ever succeeds.

Jurisprudence is very simple in Abyssinia. There are no advocates (lawyers). If any one has a complaint against another, he will rise before day-break, in order to go and cry before the house of the governor of his district, till he hears him. Then the accused person is summoned; who has a right to defend himself. The accuser and the accused put questions to each other alternately. The judge hears their reasons; summonses the witnesses, if there are any; and, after the report of two or more witnesses, or, for want of witnesses, after taking an oath from the

accused, he decides. In order to prevent noise, the judge orders both parties to speak separately, and appoints a pecuniary fine to be paid by him who interrupts the speech of his adversary; and thus he keeps a kind of order. If one of them should utter serious things or falsehoods, the other asks, by signs, permission to speak; and the judge, giving it, imposes silence upon the first. The sub-governors being easily corrupted by bribes, all the important cases are presented to the Governor-general, or *Dejasmat*, who usually gives himself much trouble to discover the truth; and then he frequently summons a learned man, with their Code of Civil Laws, called *Fetha-Negest*, the origin of which they attribute to Constantine. He often decides the punishment according to that rigorous code. The *dejasmats*, however, are at liberty to decide arbitrarily, in all cases: they frequently mitigate the punishment prescribed by the *Fetha-Negest*: in general, they are much less severe than the Kings were, when they had power. A thief, for instance, was flogged for a first offence; for a second, he had his right-hand cut off; for the third, he was killed: but now they flog him several times, before they cut off his limbs or kill him. No judge has the power to decide the fate of a murderer (except the person killed be a stranger, when the *dejasmat* considers himself as related to him): this is left to the will of the relations of the person whom he has killed; the judge having only a right to propose a ransom

instead of death, and to exhort the relations to accept of it; but he may not compel. The price for a man is two hundred and fifty dollars. When a man kills one of his own relations, there is no punishment for him. They never pass the *Tacaze*, from either side, to pursue a murderer. When the relations of a murdered man are not known, as is the case in war, the priests take, in some way, the place of the avenger of blood, in refusing the sacrament to a murderer until he pays the price of blood, or two hundred and fifty dollars, to the Church.

Formerly, all the important cases were brought before the king and his twelve *leecs*. (The *leecs* composed a kind of ministry, being both chosen and dismissed by the king, who, in his turn, could do nothing without them.) They alone had the right to judge in criminal matters; but at present they preserve nothing but the title, and the right to judge, in some particular cases, at Gondar only.

At the time of Mr. Bruce, the kings were possessed of a little power; and at the time of Mr. Salt they yet had some appearance of it; but after the death of the Ras Googsa, about ten years since, they had nothing but the title of King. They would have lost even this, were it not that the governors stand in need of it, to support that of the Ras; for a *dejasmat* cannot take the title of Ras, lawfully, unless he has placed a new king on the throne.

At the time of Mr. Salt, the reigning king was

Gooaloo, who reigned seventeen years; and after him, Joas, for four years. Then the dejasmat of Semen, Heila Mariam, placed Beda Mariam upon the throne; but he could not sustain him. He reigned only three or four days; being displaced by Eemam; and succeeded by Guigar, who had the title of King eight years. After the death of Mariam, Guigar was dethroned; and succeeded by another Joas, who, one year after, was obliged to cede the throne to Guebra Christos; and he, it is said, died in consequence of poison being administered to him by order of the old king, Guebra. I do not know whether there be at present a king or not. The imprisonment of the male members of the royal family, of which Mr. Bruce speaks in detail, is no longer considered as necessary. All the members of that family are dispersed in the various provinces; and live partly on what the grandees are pleased to give them, and partly by their own industry. They are, however, generally beloved and esteemed by the people, who, being incapable of forming to themselves any higher idea, have no other hope for the future than to see this royal family restored, and to enjoy the fruits of such a restoration.

The most important men, who have governed the interior since the time of Mr. Salt, are, the Ras Googsa, whose death is still regretted, on account of his justice and peaceable disposition; and his three sons—Eemam, beloved, like his father, of the whole nation, and who governed three

years ; Mariam, hated by all, except his soldiers, who governed three years ; and Dori, who governed only three months. The present governor is the grandson of Googsa, by a daughter ; who has assumed the title of Ras Ali, and with whom the people are much satisfied. The Dejasmat Maroo, son-in-law to Googsa, had during some years governed, with mingled justice and cruelty, the provinces of Dembea, Kovara, and Agow ; but his only son has not been able to succeed him. The Ras of the family of Googsa has given the government of Dembea and Kovara to his nephew, the Dejasmat Comfoo, whom I saw at Gondar. In Samen, the Ras Gabriel governed at the time of Mr. Salt. His son and successor, Hula Mariam, is still regretted throughout Abyssinia, and especially by the people whom he governed. It is seven years since he died ; and his son Oubea succeeded him without difficulty, and has kept Walcaït, which his father had subdued. For the last forty years there has been, comparatively, but little war on the other side of the Tacazze ; and the country has been miserable only during the three years of Mariam's government. Tigré, on the contrary, has been in a state of trouble and anarchy ever since the death of the Ras Walda Selasse, in 1815 or 1816, excepting during the seven or eight years of the government of Sebagadis.

I do not believe that any person is writing the History of Abyssinia. All that I have just now

mentioned, I have compiled here and there, according as I was able to ascertain the truth.

Shoa is entirely separated from the rest of Abyssinia, in all its agitations. The actual king, Sehla Selasse, the seventh of the same family, aged thirty-three years, has already reigned eighteen years, to the satisfaction of his people, who are very proud of him. During the last few years he has much extended the frontier of his kingdom to the south and the west. The provinces of the Gallas which he has subdued have generally embraced the Christianity of Abyssinia.

RELIGIONS OF ABYSSINIA.

The religions of Abyssinia are, Christianity, Islamism, and Judaism; to which may be added the two separate people, the Camaountes, and the Zalâne.

THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

Although the Christian religion in Abyssinia has entirely degenerated into superstition, yet there is still sufficient of it to attach us to the Christians of that country, and to engage us to consider them as brethren, though they have alienated themselves from our common Father, and have reaped misery and degradation as the fruit of their errors. We may still congratulate them for the little they have preserved of Christianity; for it is, after all, to this, that the Christian traveller is obliged to attribute all those traces in the character of the Abyssinians which, in many

respects, render them superior to all the other nations of Africa. Indeed, it is a great advantage for Abyssinia to have had till now none but Christian governors: this is acknowledged, even by the Mussulmans of that country. It is in this religion itself that the seed is to be found for the regeneration of the people of Abyssinia.

The Christians of Abyssinia are at present divided into three parties; so inimical to each other, that they curse one another, and will no longer partake of the Sacrament together. It is one single point of Theology that disunites them; but I have so much enlarged upon it in my Journal, that I need only mention it here;—it is, the unceasing dispute concerning the unction of Jesus Christ. One party is of opinion, that when it is said that Jesus Christ was anointed with the Holy Spirit, it is meant that the Godhead was united with the human nature of Jesus Christ; and that, in all the passages of the Bible where the Holy Spirit is represented as having been given to Jesus Christ, the name Holy Spirit only signifies the Divinity of Christ, who had no need of the assistance of the Holy Spirit, whom He could not receive, having always possessed Him. Their manner of expressing themselves is, that Jesus Christ *has* anointed; that He *has been* anointed; and that He himself *is* the unction. This party is chiefly in Tigré—the most exasperated one. Their doctrine was that of the last Coptic Abuna.—The second opinion is, that when

it is said that Jesus Christ was anointed with the Holy Spirit, it is signified merely that the Holy Spirit accomplished the union of the Godhead with the human nature in the person of Christ. This party is principally to be found in the provinces of Godjam and Lasta.—The third opinion, predominating in all the other provinces of Abyssinia, even in Shoa, is, that Jesus Christ, as man, although united to the Godhead from the moment of His conception, received the Holy Ghost in the human part of His nature, in the same manner as we receive Him; viz. as a gift of the Father; in order that He might be enabled to accomplish, as man, the work of our redemption: whence they conclude, that, because Jesus Christ received the Holy Spirit as we receive Him, His unction is to be called a third birth. These are the most tolerant. I have understood, that, after my departure from Gondar, some of the most learned men left off calling the unction of Jesus Christ a birth. It appears that these differences of opinion are founded upon the different views they have adopted of the two natures of Jesus Christ; although, according to the letter, they are all Monophysites.—They hold, as all the other sects of the East do, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father only. If we except the differences of opinion concerning the unction of Jesus Christ, they all have nearly the same superstition.

With respect to Infant-Baptism, the Abyssinians

do not, except in case of dangerous diseases, baptize their children before the age of forty days, if they are boys; and eighty days, if girls: for they believe that Adam did not receive the Holy Spirit till forty days had elapsed after his creation, when he was introduced into the garden of Eden; nor did Eve receive these privileges till eighty days after she had been created. Baptism with water is scarcely considered as available in cases where there is no *merom*, which the Greeks also make use of. I do not exactly recollect what the composition of *merom* is; but what renders it, in their view, efficacious, is some drops of the blood of Christ, which, it is said, have been handed down to the present time. As soon as an infant has been baptized, he is dressed with a new dress; they put a blue ribbon round his neck, as a sign that he is a Christian; and then the Communion is administered to him.

The priests receive the Lord's Supper every day; and others, either every Sunday, or when they choose. During the time appointed for fasting, they celebrate the Communion at three o'clock in the afternoon, and at other times at day-break. Even when not attending communion, those who observe fasting do not eat any thing till it is over. For the administration of this Sacrament there must be at least five priests and deacons present. Besides priests and monks, scarcely any but aged persons and children attend Communion; whence it may easily be con-

cluded that there is no kind of order. The Communion-Service consists in reading some chapters from the Gospels, and in chaunting some prayers; the whole being performed in an unknown tongue. They call the consecration of the bread and wine, Melawat, "a change;" but at Gondar I found no person who believed in Transubstantiation. In Tigré there are some who believe in it; and when they are asked how the ungodly and unbelievers can receive Jesus Christ, they reply, that an angel comes to take Him away from their mouths, and they merely eat the bread and drink the wine. It must be a man, and not a woman, that breaks the bread for the Communion. The wine is the juice of dried grapes, with water.

Regular marriages are very simple. The parties, after having received what they had promised to each other reciprocally, prepare a dinner, to which they invite some relatives, and a priest. After dinner, the priest engages the persons about to be married, to promise to each other unchanging love and fidelity; after which, he wishes to them all his heart dictates, and thus the marriage is accomplished. But it is an engagement which is as easily dissolved as formed. When one of the parties is dissatisfied with the other, they go before a priest or a judge, and renounce each other. If they have several children, they divide them: if they have but one child, and he is under the age of seven years, he belongs to the mother: if more than seven years, he belongs to the father. After

a third divorce, however, they can neither contract another regular marriage, nor partake of the Holy Communion, unless they become monks. When, therefore, a man has dismissed his third wife, if he desires to live more regularly, in order to partake of the Communion to his salvation, he reconciles himself, if possible, to one of his previous wives. Thus it frequently happens, that after having been separated for more than twenty-five years, and married to other persons, they again come together for the remnant of their days.

When a man perceives himself to be dying, he sends for a priest, to hear his confession, and to give him absolution. Several Abyssinians, and even priests, have told me, that they had committed many gross sins, which they had never confessed, for fear of the penance which they would be obliged to perform; and that they reserved the confession of such offences for their last illness. The priest always gives absolution to a dying person; but, if possible, he will take money, either to fast himself, or to engage another person to fast for the deceased. It often happens that the priests impose a fast upon all the relations of the person who has just died. I have known a young woman who was charged by the priest to fast seven years, because her father had died suddenly, without confessing: she had then been fasting for two years. As soon as a man has expired, he is interred. The priests attend at the interment, in numbers

proportioned to the fortune of the deceased, in order to make prayers for his soul, and to pronounce the absolution: they do this, however, without any other advantage than that of eating and drinking in very great quantities; for it is generally the father-confessor to the deceased that devours the house of the widow. The relations of the deceased count the days, from time to time; and they invite the priests to eating and drinking, in order to repeat psalms and pronounce the absolution again over the deceased. On such occasions, they almost always kill one or more oxen, according to their means: it is a kind of sacrifice.

The Abyssinians have no separate purgatory; but they believe that almost all men go to hell at their death; and that, from time to time, the archangel Michael descends into that place of torment, in order to deliver men's souls, and to introduce them into paradise; sometimes for the sake of some good works which they have done on earth, and sometimes for the sake of the prayers and meritorious works of their relations and the priests. They have a great number of tales in support of this doctrine: the one which they most frequently make use of, is, the story of a man who had done nothing but evil when on earth, except that he had always observed the fast on Wednesday and Friday. When he died, he descended into hell, to a dark place; but had always two lights surrounding him, by the assistance of which he could go to the gate which

separated hell from paradise. The archangel Michael then went to receive him; saying, that the two lamps, which had saved him, were the fasts which he had observed on Wednesdays and Fridays.

The Abyssinians consider fasting to be the essence of religion: they have, therefore, long and rigorous fasts. If we reckon all of them together, they take up nine months of the year; but there are only a few monks who observe them all. There are fasts of fifty-six days before Easter; and one of sixteen days in the month of August, which is observed in remembrance of the apparent death and ascension (called the "Assumption") of the Virgin Mary; these, together with the fasts of Wednesday and Friday, are indispensable. Also, the fasts of forty days before Christmas-day are generally observed in the interior, but more seldom in Tigré. Besides this, there is scarcely any confession made where the priest does not enjoin a fast, more or less long and severe; but people can dispense with this by money. I have known a man, for instance, who, after having committed the most enormous crime, retired into the monastery of Waldeba in order to avoid punishment from the civil power. The priests ordered him to fast a whole year, and to repeat two hundred times all the Psalms during that year; but the guilty man, having no inclination to fast so long, offered them money, which they accepted. They immediately engaged fifty boys

to fast, and to repeat the Psalms in the presence of the man, who did not like paying his money for nothing. Those, however, who are more instructed, and better disposed, blame the priests in such cases.—Fasting consists in abstaining from all animal food, except fish; and in not tasting any thing, not even water, till three o'clock in the afternoon, except on Saturday and Sunday, when they may eat and drink after eight o'clock in the morning.

The Ordination of priests is easily performed. It is sufficient for a man to know the letters of his Alphabet, with a few prayers, and to give two pieces of salt to the Interpreter of the Abuna or Coptic bishop; after which he receives the imposition of hands, without examination or exhortation: and this is the reason why those who are better instructed would be ashamed to be made priests. There are exceptions; but I am speaking of the generality. Many things are laid to the charge of the last Coptic bishop, Abuna Kerglos; but as his friends and his enemies do not agree, it is impossible to know the truth, except that he killed a slave, by striking him with a stick for a small offence. There has been no Abuna in the country for nearly three years. The priests may be married men at the time of receiving the imposition of hands; but they cannot marry afterward. If, however, at any time they choose to marry, they have nothing to fear, except a little contempt, together with the prohibition of

their officiating as priests. The deacons in office are almost always children; for, as they grow up, they render themselves unworthy of their office. There is no preaching at all.

Several Jewish customs have been preserved in Abyssinia: for example, circumcision, ceremonial uncleannesses, and the abstaining from every kind of meat prohibited in the Law of Moses; though there are several who eat the wild-boar, under the pretext that they are sick. They have still some kinds of sacrifices: among others, there is a kind of atoning sacrifice, which they call *Boza*, "Redemption;" but it is offered only for the sick. It consists in considering an animal as substituted for the sick person; and in carrying it, at least in many instances, three times round his bed; after which it is killed. Sometimes they take an egg, pass it three times round the head of the patient, and then cast it down before his bed. They have also an ark or chest in every church, for which they have the highest veneration; in fact, they literally adore it; and it is its presence which constitutes the holiness of the church, and which puts them in the condition to cry like the Jews of old, and in the same sense: "The Temple of the Lord! the Temple of the Lord! the Temple of the Lord are these!" When asked questions, they answer, that they consider circumcision merely as a custom; and that they abstain from the animals prohibited in the Mosaic Law only because they have a natural disgust toward

them : but I have often observed, that when they treat upon these points, without being questioned and without observing that a stranger wants to know the fact, they attach a religious importance to circumcision and to prohibited food ; and a priest would not fail to impose a fast or penance on a man that had eaten of a wild-boar, or of a hare, without the pretext of illness.

Idolatry, which is, and ever has been, so seducing to the natural man, has made but too much progress in Abyssinia. The Abyssinians are not, indeed, at a loss for sophisms ; saying, that they do not prostrate themselves before images to worship them ; but, that they do it in order to honour the Saints, the names of which the images bear ; and that the honour paid to the Saints is only a natural way of serving God. Every one admits that the ignorant adore the images themselves ; but none will acknowledge himself to be a worshipper of images. The Saints having each a particular power, it is but natural that the Abyssinians should call by turns upon those who can render them the particular assistance they stand in need of : but, this notwithstanding, they, like the Papists, say always that it is not of the Saints they ask assistance ; they pray them only to recommend them to God. Idolatry destroys the fear of God : for I have often seen a man adjuring another by God, to render him service, without success ; but as soon as he adjured him by a Saint, the other answered, often with anger, that he could not

refuse him his request, for fear of exposing himself to the enmity of the Saint, in whose name he had asked assistance of God. Thus, at Debra Damot, the monks will scarcely do any thing when asked to do it in the name of God; but when asked in the name of Abuna Aragawi, the patron of the monastery, they do every thing. I have sometimes heard ignorant people calling St. Michael, "God," and the Virgin Mary, "Creatress of the World;" but these cases are rare, and found only among the most ignorant.

After such a catalogue of errors, it is natural to conclude, as I have found to be the case, that the Abyssinians have no idea of the most salutary doctrines of Christianity; such as, justification by faith; the work of grace; and the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit on the hearts of the children of God: hence it necessarily follows that their morals are very corrupt.

MORAL STATE OF ABYSSINIA.

The principal cause of the corruption of manners in Abyssinia is, after their mental errors, their unsettled mode of living. A Governor, for instance, does not like to remain long at the same place, even when there is no war. He resides sometimes at one end of the province which he governs, and sometimes at the other, with a great number of officers and servants. His first wife is frequently obliged to remain in the house to which he has taken her; and he, not willing to live alone,

takes a concubine. Thus the first sin being committed, he continues to add others to the number, until he has lost every feeling of conjugal duty. Those who are with him are in the same situation, and do the same things. Several women being in this manner attached to one man, who is not their husband, and seeing themselves neglected, endeavour on their part to corrupt young men, whose situation should maintain them in innocence; and thus immorality is communicated to all the branches of society. Nevertheless, openly they maintain much more decency than one would be led to suppose, after having read the description which Bruce gives of an Abyssinian feast. I admit that such a feast may have taken place among the most shameless libertines; but excesses of that kind are not customary, either as to their cruelty, or their indecency. I have heard people speak of many things; but I have seen less indecency in the capital of Abyssinia, than in the capitals of England, France and Egypt. In Tigré, with the exception of Adowah and Antalo, the women are much more reserved than in the interior. The ordinary consequence of the immoralities alluded to, is sloth; from which results poverty, together with the desire to live, where pride is not offended, in a state of dependence on others: the result of this, again, is envy, craftiness, and falsehood. The Abyssinians are liars, as well as the Arabs; but they have yet a feeling of shame, when discovered, which the Arabs have

not. The first consequence of falsehood is swearing. Another series of vices, which also result from illicit connexions, (for so I call the polygamy of the Abyssinians, as they know very well that it is unlawful,) is to be found in the circumstance, that the children of one and the same father, who are not of the same mother, are always enemies to each other; in such a degree, that they cannot endure to see one another; nor have they any feeling of filial love for their father, inasmuch as he generally has a fatherly affection only for the children born of a favourite wife: not to mention their jealousies, and the consequences thereof; which go so far, that an adulterer is often killed by his rival. This inconstancy in the intercourse of the sexes with each other may be observed during the whole life of a man. It is this that renders the Abyssinians so light-minded, having nothing constant but inconstancy itself; although the children show less of levity than the children of other countries.

It affords me great satisfaction to be able to remark—but almost solely with reference to the Christians—that, in the midst of the chaos of corruption in this country, there are some traces of goodness, which, like precious stones, have remained dispersed among the moral ruins of Abyssinia. A traveller, for instance, is never at a loss to find a lodging: when he arrives in the evening at a village, he seldom needs to ask for a lodging: the first person who sees him, invites

him to lodge at his house; where he may be as much at his ease as if at home, and assured that, were he laden with gold, his host would not touch the least thing. The Abyssinian traveller, on his part, unwilling to impose on the kindness of his host, spares his own provisions only when he is, as it were, forced to do so. I do not speak here of villages on those roads which are much frequented by caravans, and where the people learn too easily the colder manners of strangers. Formerly the Abyssinians had much respect and attachment for the White people, and in the interior this is the case still; but in Tigré, White people are often despised. The reason of this is, that the people of Tigré see much more of the White people than those in the interior; and have but too many occasions to observe, that, in point of morals, they are not superior to themselves, when they are in the same circumstances. Nevertheless, even in Tigré I have never wanted a lodging, when I have arrived in the evening: the people of the village frequently brought the best things they had, for the supper of myself and servants.

I have mentioned elsewhere, that the Abyssinians are robbers; but, with the exception of the neighbourhood of the Shohos, where I then was, they are robbers only in one sense. This is in times of anarchy, when every chief of a district assumes independence, with the intention of bringing the neighbouring districts under his

power; for which object he wants money, which he can only obtain by giving to his subjects liberty to pillage the strangers, and, if they can, the neighbouring districts. They look upon pillage, in this sense, as a right of war; and it is in this respect that all of them are robbers. The interference of a Governor or Dejasmat prevents all this. There are many who endeavour to cheat in the market; but because thieves are punished severely, general disgrace is connected with stealing, which therefore is, comparatively, seldom committed; and it is generally easy to get the stolen articles back again. Once, for instance, I was in the camp of Walda Michael, when a man complained that he had been robbed, without his knowing the thief. Immediately after, a priest was sent for, in order to pronounce an anathema upon the thief; who, at the end of a quarter of an hour, sent the stolen article back, without making himself known. Thus they can nearly always effect the return of stolen articles; but, in this case, they do not inquire for the thief, lest the fear of punishment should render the anathema without effect. The servants are generally more faithful than in Europe. Even a thief by profession would not rob his master's house; and should this very rare case happen, the servant would put himself in such a situation as never to be met with again by his master. If there are any exceptions, they are, that the female servants take small things secretly, to eat. The Abyss-

sinians punish their children severely only when they have stolen. I have seen a mother, usually of a very meek temper, and who would not see a man cause suffering to the smallest reptile, burn the skin off both the hands and lips of her daughter, only nine years of age, for having put her finger into a mug of honey.

Though I have heard of some acts of cruelty, still I must say, that, in general, the Abyssinians are not cruel. In war, they scarcely ever kill a man whom they take prisoner; and when they see that victory is theirs, they prefer making great circuits in order to take prisoners, rather than killing those who still defend themselves before them. The cases in which they are cruel occur in the wounded of the opposite party: they let them languish, and miserably perish, when a little care would probably save their lives. Nor are they cruel to animals; and therefore I can scarcely believe what Bruce says concerning their cruelty in this respect: and whenever I have asked the Abyssinians, whether it happens sometimes that people cut off a piece of flesh from a living animal to eat it, they have always manifested horror at it. But having myself experienced what extreme hunger is, I believe the possibility of any act a man is capable of devising, in order to procure necessary food. If there are cases of cruelty, such as Bruce reports, they certainly are exceptions; and particular cases of that kind are not wanting in Europe. I have seen parents chastise

their children for having plucked out feathers from a fowl, which was not dead, although they were going to kill it.

Toward the poor, the Abyssinians are very charitable. Their motives may not always be the purest; but God only knows these thoroughly: it belongs not to me to judge. When at Gondar, in the time of dearth, I have known persons of fortune who entertained about sixty maimed persons; and in fact, when the Abyssinians have it in their power, they never send a beggar away without giving him something: they sometimes give beyond their means, for they will frequently suffer hunger, in order to share the little they have with those who are still more miserable. In good seasons, therefore, there are but few beggars. The beggars almost always ask alms in the name of the Saint of the day; and having eighteen festivals, or days of idleness, every month, there is always some variety.

The Abyssinians are very easily provoked to anger; but they are as easily reconciled to each other. In Tigré, they sometimes beat each other, in their disputes; but in the country of Amhara this scarcely ever takes place; for there the man who has beaten must pay a fine, proportionate partly to the offence, and partly to his means; half of which is for him who has been beaten; unless he has also struck, in which case both are fined. Sometimes they are seen to insult each other in such a manner that one would expect they

would never be reconciled again; and yet, at the end of a quarter of an hour, they are often good friends again. Excepting the petty governors, who are jealous of the advantages of their equals, and of those who are a little superior to them, there are scarcely any who keep up implacable hatred. The *grandees* pardon their inferiors easily, when they ask for pardon. For the reconciliation of two parties, there must always be a mediator: sometimes it is one of the parties that requests him to exercise his function;—this is the case particularly when discords between husband and wife are to be settled. After having arranged between themselves, one of them, generally the most culpable, puts a large stone upon his neck, and, approaching the other, asks for pardon: the other, in saying to him “May God forgive you!” takes the stone and puts it on his own neck, in order to ask pardon of the first; who, on forgiving him, takes the stone and puts it again in its place. A master, however, seldom puts the stone on his own neck: he contents himself, on forgiving his servant, with taking the stone from his neck and putting it into his hands. They carry also a stone to an offended person, even if no dispute has taken place. One day, two of my servants, after having sought in vain, till ten o’clock in the evening, for a sheep they had lost, came to me, creeping on their hands and knees, each with a stone of about eighty pounds weight on his neck, to request me to beat them severely, as a proof that I forgave

them; as a father forgives his children, after having chastised them. The stone they carry is generally a mill-stone. The rarest thing in Abyssinia is, for the relatives of a man who has been killed to forgive the murderer; and when they do not agree upon a pecuniary fine, they make use of the same arms, with which he has killed their relative, to kill him; so that if he had killed a man with his hands, they would kill him with their hands also.

THE MAHOMEDANS.

The Mahomedans appear to have multiplied in Abyssinia since the time of Bruce. The places where they are in greatest number are Adowah and its vicinity; Hawasa, and the vicinity of the mountain Toloca in Samen, where the Jews were formerly independent; Directa, in the province of Begameder; and Gondar. They live pretty well together with the Christians; but it is only by their hypocrisy that they support each other, among themselves. They have sometimes friends of their own creed; but wherever friendship requires confidence, they seek it among the Christians. They have no greater subject of discontent than to see themselves placed under a Mussulman; although they will greatly rejoice when they hear that a man of their creed is in authority in another country. The Mussulmans have seldom vast districts to govern, but have almost all the custom-houses; for they use the merchants very ill, in

order to give more presents to the Dejasmats than the Christian customers, who are more conscientious, can do. They generally engage much more in trade than the Christians; therefore they have more money. They alone have the traffic of slaves, the Christians never taking any part in it. There is nothing to say of their religion itself, for there are very few possessing the least knowledge of the Korân; and provided they feed and clothe their Sheiks or Focaras, these do not care about teaching them any thing else than some favourite expressions of the Korân, to flatter themselves in condemning others; but all of them are very zealous to make proselytes. When the Mussulmans of Abyssinia go to foreign countries, they learn to pray; and pray regularly five times a day, and observe the fast of Ramadan much more strictly than the Arabs: but after their return to their own country, they generally forget their prayers, and do not care much for the Ramadan. Like the Christians and Jews, the Mussulmans of Abyssinia never eat the meat of an animal not killed by a man of their own sect. In morality, they are in every respect inferior to the Christians.

THE FALASHAS OR JEWS.

The Falashas live so retired, and are so separated from the Christians, that the latter know scarcely anything either of their doctrines or of their manners. They live chiefly in the neighbourhood of Gondar and Shelga, and to the north-west

of the Lake Tsana. I have done all I could to procure information concerning them; but have been able to ascertain one thing only; viz. that they are still much more ignorant than the Christians. Those whom I have seen, always used to send me to one of their learned men, when I proposed any question to them. They do not know of what tribe they are; nor have they any adequate idea as to the period when their ancestors settled in Abyssinia. Some say that it was with Menilec, the son of Solomon: others believe that they settled in Abyssinia after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. They have, on the whole, the same superstitions as the Christians: they are only a little modified, after a Jewish fashion. I have never observed that they took the least interest in the idea of the Messiah: and when I examined them on this subject, they coldly replied, that they expected him in the character of a great conqueror, called Theodoros, who must soon appear, and whom the Christians also expect; but the poor Falashas do not know whether he will be a Christian or a Jew. What they have in common with other Jews, is, hatred to Christ. They have a dialect among themselves, which has no similarity either with the Hebrew or with the Ethiopic; but all of them, except some females, speak Amharic. I have seen but one book in the Falasha dialect, written in the Ethiopic character: they told me that it was a book of prayers. In fact, they must be very ignorant, having no

books except in the Ethiopic language, and being surrounded with innumerable difficulties, which prevent them from learning that language. I have, however, seen some individuals who know pretty well the contents of the Books of Moses. They read the Psalms, with all the repetitions of, "In the name of the Father, the Son," &c. which the Christians have added to them, as well as the Songs of Mary and Simeon; but they do not join to them the Oodassé Mariam of Ephrem. They are much more laborious than the other Abyssinians: the building of all the houses of Gondar is their work. They do not allow the Christians to enter their houses, except by force; nor do the latter desire to enter them, for fear of their supernatural influence. All of them are considered as boudas or sorcerers, as also are the artificers in iron and many others. The Falashas, after having spoken with Christians, never enter their own houses without first washing their bodies and changing their dress. All the provisions they buy in the market are washed by them before they make use of them. Their intercourse with the Mahomedans is a little more free than with the Christians. They never carry arms, either for attack or defence. They maintain their own poor, and will not suffer them to beg.

THE CAMAOUNTES.

They are a people few in number, inhabiting the mountains about Gondar. Their principal occupation is agriculture; but the women, with

immense brass ear-rings, and their ears hanging down to their shoulders, furnish the market of Gondar with wood. I have not been able to go to their villages, finding nobody who would accompany me. I have seen some of them in my house, but could not learn any thing of their religion. I believe them to be Deists, satisfied with the idea of the existence of one God, without thinking of the relations He sustains to man—much like the Deists in Europe; and therefore not to be trusted. When they are asked questions in general, and especially with regard to their religion, they always answer in an equivocal manner and in the tone of a buffoon. They nevertheless have a species of priests, and assemble themselves in their own private houses, where they have a repast, which they call "Corban," communion or eucharist. They are afraid of sorcerers too, but they are not considered as such. They eat meat with the Christians and Mahomedans, provided the animal has not been killed on a Saturday; but they never eat fish.

THE ZALANES,

Are a migratory people, wandering about, with their herds, in the fertile but uncultivated environs of the Lake Tsana, or the Lake Dembea. I have seen but three or four of them: all were very tall, and robust. They are said to believe in the existence of one God, but to have no other religion. I am inclined to suppose that

ignorance has prevailed among them to such a degree, as to separate them from the Christians entirely, though their ancestors may have been Christians, which the other Abyssinians will not admit. They do not fight, except for the purpose of defending themselves; and this they do with large sticks; which they handle so skilfully, that no one dares to attack them, either with the lance or the sword.

CUSTOMS OF ABYSSINIA.

As soon as a child is born, it is immediately taught to drink lukewarm butter with a little honey. This seems to have been customary among the Jews (Isa. vii. 15). After the age of six or seven years, the children are considered as servants. The boys are shepherds till the age of fourteen or fifteen, and reside with their parents: but, if their parents are poor, they leave them, by their own choice, at the age of eight or nine years, in order to get their livelihood by keeping cattle elsewhere. The girls are occupied in managing the little affairs of the house; and begin to fetch water, which is always at a distance, as soon as they can walk steadily: at the age of eight or nine years they begin to fetch wood from the mountains. They do not begin to grind till they are thirteen or fourteen years old. When they marry, they cease to fetch water and wood, and often cease to grind, unless they be very poor. There are some fathers who send their children into convents, or

elsewhere, to have them instructed ; but there are many who will not do this, lest their children should become monks: on this account many boys desert their parents, in order to seek instruction for themselves. Some enter the house of a priest or another teacher, as servants during the day, and they receive instruction at night: others go, after their lessons are over, to get food by begging. There are also some persons, in easy circumstances, who support those children who seek for instruction without the help of their parents. Nearly all the great men send their children into convents, to learn reading, and to repeat the Psalms from memory: this is all the instruction they receive. The daughters of the higher class learn nothing but spinning and managing the affairs of the house: there are however a few ladies who can read. The following is the course through which young persons desiring to be instructed are led:—After they know how to read, they commit the Gospel of St. John to memory ; then some of the Epistles of St. Paul, and some of the Homilies of St. Chrysostom: after these, they learn by heart, the Psalms, the Oodassé Mariam, and some prayers. In this process, the greater part of their time is spent in learning to sing ; and all this in an unknown tongue. They afterward learn the Ethiopic Dictionary by heart: at this, however, most of them stop short. At last, they assemble round one of the learned men of the country, who ex-

plains to them the Bible, and the other religious works which they have, together with their Civil Code of Laws. There are very few who learn to write. Upon the whole, I should think that, in the country where Amharic is spoken, about one-fifth of the male population can read a little, and in Tigré about one-twelfth. As soon as the son of a great man has learned to read, be it well or ill, his father gives him a district of a greater or less extent, according to the affection he bears toward him; and he then surrounds him with servants, marries him, and makes a soldier of him for the rest of his life. The daughters of grandees marry very young, at the age of eight or nine years; and then they appear no more in public till their husbands die.

The Abyssinians pay much respect to their superiors: they are scarcely ever heard to speak evil of him who governs them. The servants are attached to their masters, and swear by them: even after a man's death, if he has done them good, they will swear by him. In addressing equals, they use the second person in the singular number. In speaking to parents, or a wife to her husband, they make use of the second person in the plural; but, in their absence, they speak of them in the third person of the plural number, of the verb as well as the pronoun. When speaking to a superior, or to any one whom they respect, they make use of the third person in the singular number for the pronoun, and in the plural

for the verb; but in his absence, they make use of the plural pronoun also. In Tigré they make use of the singular pronoun and verb only with persons with whom they are very familiar, and with children: for all the rest they use the second person plural; and in speaking of a governor, in his absence, they use the third person plural. I mention this here, because disputes are easily excited by not paying attention to this point, especially with the priests; but a White man has permission to address every one in the singular number.

Among the common people, when a young man has arrived at the age of about sixteen, he begins, if he remains with his father, to arrange his affairs, so as to enable him to marry at the age of about eighteen, to a girl of about fourteen years; and he is then a husbandman for the remainder of his days: but all his employment consists in tilling the ground, in building or making the necessary repairs to his house; and sometimes he is seen employed in the harvest with his wife. All the other work is done by women. About half of the young people enter into service at the age of fifteen or sixteen, either as soldiers or as workmen, mostly for the remainder of their lives, because they save nothing. On the whole, the Abyssinians are mild toward their servants, often speaking to them as their equals: and as it is a mark of comfortable circumstances and of benevolence to have several servants, every one keeps

as many as he can afford to feed, although he is not able to give them much work to do. There are few male slaves; but all those who can afford it, have female slaves to grind, and to fetch water and wood. The Christians do not sell their servants; but sometimes they give them away as presents.

When the Abyssinians arrive at an advanced age, most of them become monks or nuns, whether they be rich or poor, married or unmarried: the rich then deliver over their possessions to their children, who support them till their death with much filial piety. The poor live on the bounty of others. The men become monks at any period of life; but the women seldom become nuns till they are forty-five or fifty years of age. As the Abyssinians anoint their heads with butter, and do not cover them, the monks and nuns are recognised by a cap with which they are covered. Some monks—especially those who think themselves the most learned—have nothing for their dress, except the skin of a deer, or some other animal, for the appearance of humility; but the people are so convinced that this is ostentation, that they have little respect for those who are thus clothed. When a man has many debts, he frequently becomes a monk; and then he is not obliged to pay them, though he remain in the same house with his wife who is a nun: but should such a monk marry a new wife, he would then be obliged to pay his former debts.

In every district, and in every town, there is a

market once a week, where they procure all that they want for eight days. Men and women go there indiscriminately: it is, however, very seldom that the men buy cotton, or the women meat. Men do not meddle with the affairs of housekeeping, but they wash the clothes of the family. The manner of washing is very simple. They make a hole in the ground at the side of a river, covering it with a piece of leather; and after having put their clothes upon the leather, with the flower of the fruit of a tree which much resembles the grapes of Corinth, they fill the hole from above with water from the river, after which they draw the clothes out again as white as snow.

CONCLUSION.

It may now reasonably be asked, What has been done for the good of Abyssinia? and what is to be done in future? I will briefly reply—As to what has been done—The translation and partial printing of the Bible in the Amharic Language is of the highest importance. The Word of God, as contained in the Four Gospels and some copies of the Epistles, has been distributed in every quarter of the country. The religious conversations which I had at Gondar have been reported in every province. The most instructed persons have begun, in consequence of these means, at least to doubt the truth of some of those errors which they had always considered True; and some young people appear to feel the

drawing of the Father, who will lead them to Jesus, that they may receive eternal life.

As to what is to be done in future, it is difficult to decide beforehand: we shall necessarily be directed, in a great measure, by circumstances, under the influence of Divine Providence: for although those Abyssinians that have known me, have shown nothing but benevolence toward me, they have, nevertheless, prejudices enough to be suspicious of all that we might do with the appearance of publicity. The three means which appear to me the most easy, the most natural, and, perhaps, the most useful, are: First, to multiply copies of the Word of God: Secondly, to preach the Gospel, by way of conversation, under all possible circumstances: and, lastly, to instruct some young men, with a view to their becoming Schoolmasters. In addition to this, whether travelling or residing among the people, the wisdom of the Missionary must consist in his attachment to the Truth, manifested by a humble simplicity; having for his only object, the glory of God; and for his simple motive, love to his fellow-men.

THE END.



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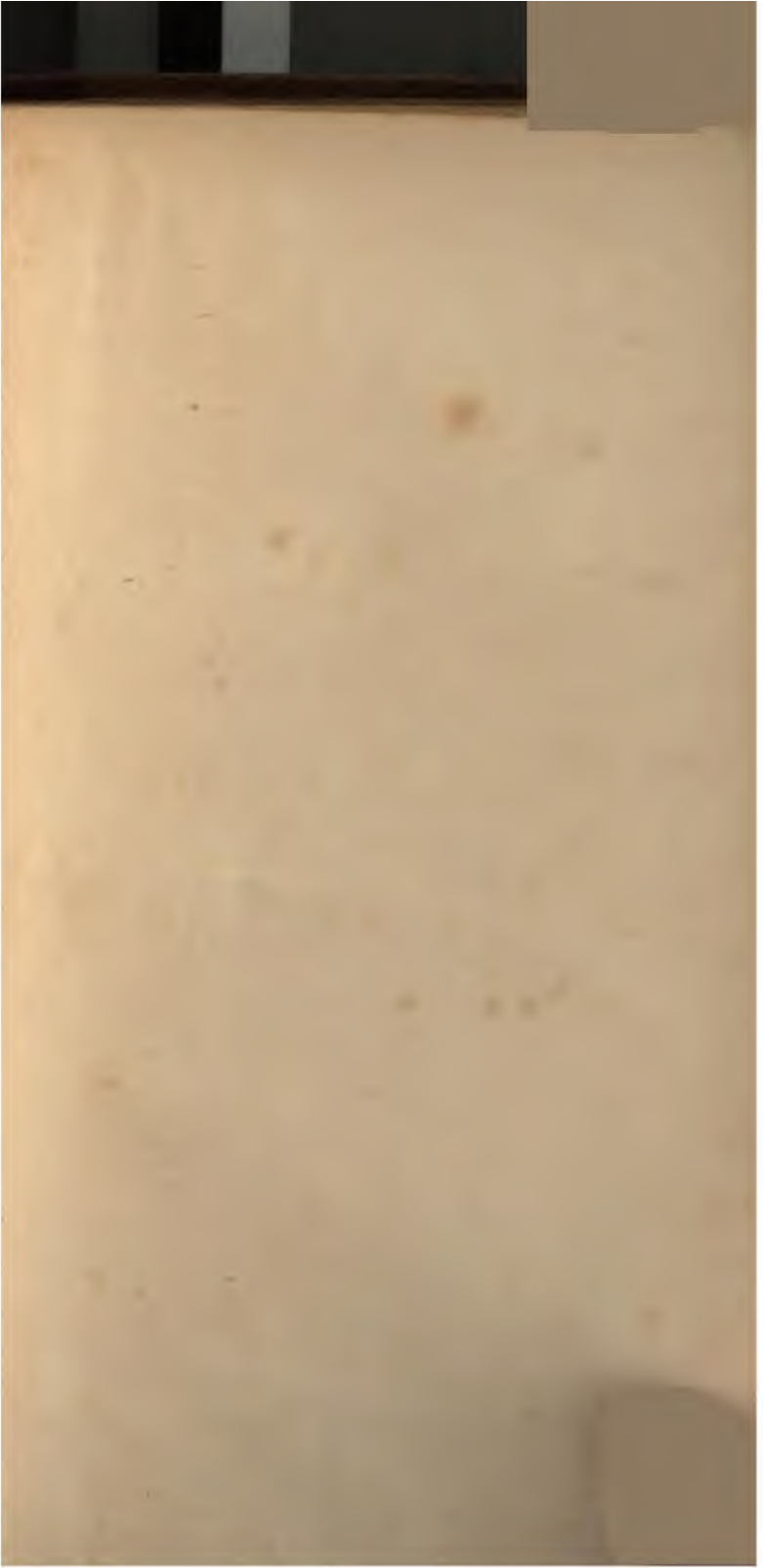
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